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PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
BRITISH ACADEMY  
1950

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## LIST OF FELLOWS, 1950

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>†<sup>38</sup> Professor F. E. ADCOCK, O.B.E.<br/> <sup>41</sup> Dr. J. ALLAN, C.B.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Dr. C. K. ALLEN, K.C.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Professor A. J. ARBERRY.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Mr. B. ASHMOLE.<br/> <sup>33</sup> Dr. C. BAILEY, C.B.E.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Professor H. W. BAILEY.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Mr. E. A. BARBER.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Sir ERNEST BARKER.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Dr. L. D. BARNETT, C.B.<br/> <sup>30</sup> Professor NORMAN H. BAYNES.<br/> <sup>37</sup> Sir J. D. BEAZLEY.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Sir H. I. BELL, C.B., O.B.E.<br/> <sup>34</sup> The Rev. Professor J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.<br/> <sup>37</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord BEVERIDGE, K.C.B.<br/> <sup>50</sup> Professor A. F. BLUNT, C.V.O.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Dr. C. M. BOWRA.<br/> <sup>36</sup> Professor C. D. BROAD.<br/> <sup>57</sup> Dr. W. H. BUCKLER.<br/> <sup>50</sup> Sir CYRIL BURT.<br/> <sup>31</sup> Professor W. M. CALDER.<br/> <sup>45</sup> Professor HELEN CAM.<br/> <sup>45</sup> Mr. E. F. CARRITT.<br/> <sup>45</sup> Sir A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Miss G. CATON THOMPSON.<br/> <sup>34</sup> Sir E. K. CHAMBERS, K.B.E., C.B.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Dr. R. W. CHAPMAN.<br/> <sup>45</sup> Professor G. C. CHESHIRE.<br/> <sup>40</sup> Professor V. GORDON CHILDE.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Dr. G. N. CLARK.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Sir KENNETH CLARK, K.C.B.<br/> <sup>50</sup> Mr. C. T. CLAY, C.B.<br/> <sup>41</sup> Dr. A. B. COOK.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Sir REGINALD COUPLAND, K.C.M.G., C.I.E.<br/> <sup>31</sup> Sir WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Mr. O. G. S. CRAWFORD, C.B.E.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Professor K. A. C. CRESWELL.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Miss HELEN DARBISHIRE.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Professor R. M. DAWKINS.<br/> <sup>43</sup> Mr. CHRISTOPHER DAWSON.<br/> <sup>45</sup> The Rev. Professor C. H. DODD.<br/> <sup>45</sup> Professor E. R. DODDS.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Professor DAVID DOUGLAS.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Professor G. R. DRIVER.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Professor J. GORONWY EDWARDS.<br/> <sup>50</sup> Professor W. J. ENTWISTLE.<br/> <sup>41</sup> Dr. A. C. EWING.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Professor G. C. FIELD.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Professor R. W. FIRTH.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Sir CYRIL FLOWER, C.B.<br/> <sup>40</sup> Sir CYRIL FOX.<br/> <sup>41</sup> Professor E. FRAENKEL.<br/> <sup>40</sup> Mr. C. J. GADD.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Professor V. H. GALBRAITH.</p> | <p><sup>39</sup> Sir ALAN H. GARDINER.<br/> <sup>31</sup> Dr. H. W. GARROD, C.B.E.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Professor H. A. R. GIBB.<br/> <sup>46</sup> Professor S. R. K. GLANVILLE, M.B.E.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Professor A. W. GOMME.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Dr. G. P. GOOCH, C.H.<br/> <sup>43</sup> Mr. A. S. F. GOW.<br/> <sup>28</sup> Sir W. W. GREG.<br/> <sup>33</sup> Sir H. J. C. GRIERSON.<br/> <sup>46</sup> Professor R. HACKFORTH.<br/> <sup>50</sup> Professor W. K. HANCOCK.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Mr. R. F. HARROD.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Professor C. F. C. HAWKES.<br/> <sup>35</sup> Mr. R. G. HAWTREY, C.B.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Professor F. A. VON HAYEK.<br/> <sup>34</sup> Professor H. D. HAZELTINE.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Sir HUBERT D. HENDERSON.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Professor J. R. HICKS.<br/> <sup>49</sup> The Rev. Dr. W. F. HOWARD.<br/> <sup>31</sup> The Very Rev. W. R. INGE, K.C.V.O.<br/> <sup>46</sup> Dr. E. F. JACOB.<br/> <sup>34</sup> Mr. CHARLES JOHNSON.<br/> <sup>47</sup> Professor A. H. M. JONES.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Dr. W. H. S. JONES.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Professor P. E. KAHLE.<br/> <sup>41</sup> Dr. T. D. KENDRICK.<br/> <sup>50</sup> Mr. W. C. KNEALE.<br/> <sup>47</sup> The Rev. Professor M. D. KNOWLES.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Professor H. LAUTERPACHT, K.C.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Professor R. W. LEE.<br/> <sup>39</sup> Sir A. D. McNAIR, C.B.E., K.C.<br/> <sup>45</sup> The Rev. Professor T. W. MANSON.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Sir JOHN MARSHALL, C.I.E.<br/> <sup>46</sup> Mr. H. MATTINGLY.<br/> <sup>35</sup> Sir ELLIS H. MINNS.<br/> <sup>18</sup> Professor G. E. MOORE.<br/> <sup>10</sup> Professor GILBERT MURRAY, O.M.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Professor R. A. B. MYNORS.<br/> <sup>33</sup> Sir J. L. MYRES, O.B.E.<br/> <sup>44</sup> Professor L. B. NAMIER.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Professor J. E. NEALE.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Dr. C. T. ONIONS, C.B.E.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Mr. W. A. PANTIN.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Professor RICHARD PARES, C.B.E.<br/> <sup>50</sup> Dr. K. T. PARKER.<br/> <sup>46</sup> Professor H. J. PATON.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Sir C. R. PEERS, C.B.E.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Dr. RUDOLF PFEIFFER.<br/> <sup>34</sup> Sir A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.<br/> <sup>46</sup> Professor T. F. T. PLUCKNETT.<br/> <sup>49</sup> Mr. A. E. POPHAM.<br/> <sup>37</sup> Sir F. M. POWICKE.<br/> <sup>40</sup> Professor EDGAR PRESTAGE.<br/> <sup>48</sup> Professor H. H. PRICE.<br/> <sup>41</sup> Dr. F. J. E. RABY, C.B.<br/> <sup>38</sup> Sir SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN.</p> |
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† The year of election is indicated by the number: e.g. 4 = 1904; 13 = 1913.

## LIST OF FELLOWS, 1950 (*continued*)

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|---|--|
| <p>50 Dr. H. N. RANDLE, C.I.E.<br/> 48 The Rev. Professor C. E. RAVEN.<br/> 46 Professor W. L. RENWICK.<br/> 47 Professor I. A. RICHMOND.<br/> 42 Professor L. C. ROBBINS, C.B.<br/> 47 Mr. C. H. ROBERTS.<br/> 32 Professor D. H. ROBERTSON, C.M.G.<br/> 40 Professor D. S. ROBERTSON.<br/> 42 Mr. E. S. G. ROBINSON.<br/> 34 Professor H. J. ROSE.<br/> 27 Sir W. D. ROSS, K.B.E.<br/> 48 Professor LEON ROTH.<br/> 47 The Rev. Professor H. H. ROWLEY.<br/> 30 The Rev. H. E. SALTER.<br/> 48 Dr. VICTOR SCHOLDERER.<br/> 32 Professor R. W. SETON-WATSON.<br/> 41 Mr. K. SISAM.<br/> 32 Professor D. NICHOL SMITH.<br/> 24 Professor N. KEMP SMITH.<br/> 41 Dr. SIDNEY SMITH.<br/> 26 Sir F. M. STENTON.<br/> 46 Mr. B. H. SUMNER.<br/> 44 Professor RONALD SYME.<br/> 38 Dr. W. W. TARN.<br/> 34 Professor R. H. TAWNEY.<br/> 24 The Rev. Dr. F. R. TENNANT.<br/> 27 Professor F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E.<br/> 36 Sir H. THOMAS.</p> | <p>28 Professor A. HAMILTON THOMPSON, C.B.E.<br/> 47 The Rev. J. M. THOMPSON.<br/> 39 Dr. MARCUS N. TOD, O.B.E.<br/> 37 Professor ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.<br/> 25 Dr. GEORGE M. TREVELYAN, O.M., C.B.E.<br/> 42 Sir R. L. TURNER.<br/> 45 Professor A. J. B. WACE.<br/> 41 Professor H. T. WADE-GERY.<br/> 45 Dr. A. D. WALEY.<br/> 27 Dr. C. C. J. WEBB.<br/> 30 Sir C. K. WEBSTER, K.C.M.G.<br/> 41 Dr. R. E. MORTIMER WHEELER, C.I.E.<br/> 47 Professor BASIL WILLEY.<br/> 44 Mr. HAROLD WILLIAMS.<br/> 38 Sir IFOR WILLIAMS.<br/> 43 Professor F. P. WILSON.<br/> 31 Professor J. DOVER WILSON, C.H.<br/> 34 Sir P. H. WINFIELD.<br/> 45 Sir R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G.<br/> 46 Professor E. L. WOODWARD.<br/> 48 Professor FRANCIS WORMALD.<br/> 40 The Rt. Hon. Lord WRIGHT, G.C.M.G.<br/> 29 The Most Hon. the Marquess of ZETLAND, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.</p> |
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## RETIRED FELLOWS, 1950

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| <p>22 Sir A. L. BOWLEY, C.B.E.<br/> 38 Mr. E. W. BROOKS.</p> | <p>27 Professor A. C. PIGOU.<br/> 29 Professor F. de ZULUETA.</p> |
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## HONORARY FELLOWS, 1950

- |   |   |
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| <p>3 Sir F. G. KENYON, G.B.E., K.C.B.</p> | <p>49 The Rt. Hon. Earl RUSSELL, O.M.</p> |
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## CORRESPONDING FELLOWS, 1950

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| <p>47 Dr. A. ALFÖLDI (Hungary).<br/> 33 The Duke of BERWICK AND ALBA (Spain).<br/> 38 Professor ETTORE BIGNONE (Italy).<br/> 49 Professor C. W. BLEGEN (U.S.A.)<br/> 50 Professor AXEL BOËTHIUS (Sweden)<br/> 42 Professor CAMPBELL BONNER (U.S.A.).<br/> 35 Senatore BENEDETTO CROCE (Italy).<br/> 49 Professor W. B. DINSMOOR (U.S.A.).<br/> 37 M. RENÉ DUSSAUD (France).<br/> 47 The Rev. Professor F. DVORNIK (Czechoslovakia).<br/> 37 Professor EILERT EKWALL (Sweden).<br/> 43 Professor W. S. FERGUSON (U.S.A.).<br/> 34 Professor MAX FÖRSTER (Germany).<br/> 39 M. ALFRED FOUCHER (France).<br/> 27 Professor ÉTIENNE GILSON (France).<br/> 50 Père PAUL GROSJEAN, S.J. (Belgium).<br/> 36 Dr. PAUL JACOBSTHAL (Germany).<br/> 45 Dr. FELIX JACOBY (Germany).<br/> 27 Professor WERNER JAEGER (Germany).<br/> 46 Professor WILHELM KOEHLER (Germany).</p> | <p>31 Professor HALVDAN KOHT (Norway).<br/> 48 Professor KURT LATTE (Germany).<br/> 48 Professor G. LE BRAS (France).<br/> 49 M. GEORGES LEFEBVRE (France).<br/> 48 Dr. GUSTAVE LEFEBVRE (France).<br/> 48 M. P. E. LEGRAND (France).<br/> 32 Professor PAUL LEHMANN (Germany).<br/> 48 Professor C. I. LEWIS (U.S.A.).<br/> 31 Professor EINAR LÖFSTEDT (Sweden).<br/> 35 Professor FERDINAND LOT (France).<br/> 38 Professor E. A. LOWE (U.S.A.).<br/> 41 Dr. PAUL MAAS (Germany).<br/> 41 Professor C. H. McILWAIN (U.S.A.).<br/> 38 M. ÉMILE MÅLE (France).<br/> 30 Professor RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL (Spain).<br/> 40 Professor B. D. MERITT (U.S.A.).<br/> 43 Professor VLADIMIR MINORSKY (Russia).<br/> 29 Professor MARTIN P. NILSSON (Sweden).<br/> 43 Professor A. D. NOCK (U.S.A.).</p> |
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## CORRESPONDING FELLOWS, 1950 (*continued*)

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| <p><sup>50</sup> Professor WALLACE NOTESTEIN (U.S.A.)</p> <p><sup>50</sup> Professor JOHANNES PEDERSEN (Denmark).</p> <p><sup>40</sup> Professor ROSCOE POUND (U.S.A.).</p> <p><sup>38</sup> Professor LUDWIG RADERMACHER (Germany).</p> <p><sup>46</sup> Miss GISELA M. A. RICHTER (U.S.A.).</p> <p><sup>46</sup> Professor LOUIS ROBERT (France).</p> | <p><sup>17</sup> Professor MIKHAIL ROSTOVITZ (U.S.A.).</p> <p><sup>46</sup> M. CLAUDE F. A. SCHAEFFER (France).</p> <p><sup>38</sup> Dr. HAAKON SHETELIG (Norway).</p> <p><sup>44</sup> Professor E. V. TARLÉ (Russia).</p> <p><sup>46</sup> Professor H. A. THOMPSON (U.S.A.).</p> <p><sup>44</sup> Professor TSCHEN YINKOH (China).</p> <p><sup>29</sup> Père L. HUGUES VINCENT (France).</p> |
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## DECEASED FELLOWS, 1950

### ORDINARY

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| <p><sup>13</sup> The Rev. Dr. E. A. ABBOTT.</p> <p><sup>37</sup> Dr. LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE.</p> <p><sup>13</sup> Professor SAMUEL ALEXANDER, O.M.</p> <p><sup>33</sup> Dr. P. S. ALLEN.</p> <p><sup>36</sup> Mr. T. W. ALLEN.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rt. Hon. Sir W. R. ANSON, Bart.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Mr. EDWARD ARMSTRONG.</p> <p><sup>38</sup> Sir T. W. ARNOLD, C.I.E.</p> <p><sup>37</sup> Dr. THOMAS ASHBY.</p> <p><sup>38</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord ATKIN.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rt. Hon. the Earl of BALFOUR, K.G., O.M.</p> <p><sup>21</sup> Professor C. F. BASTABLE.</p> <p><sup>48</sup> Dr. E. R. BEVAN, O.B.E.</p> <p><sup>30</sup> Dr. J. BONAR.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Professor B. BOSANQUET.</p> <p><sup>10</sup> Dr. A. C. BRADLEY.</p> <p><sup>7</sup> Dr. HENRY BRADLEY.</p> <p><sup>36</sup> The Rev. F. E. BRIGHTMAN.</p> <p><sup>34</sup> The Rev. Dr. A. E. BROOKE.</p> <p><sup>40</sup> Professor Z. N. BROOKE.</p> <p><sup>24</sup> Professor G. BALDWIN BROWN.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Professor HUME BROWN.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Professor E. G. BROWNE.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rt. Hon. Viscount BRYCE, O.M.</p> <p><sup>30</sup> Professor W. W. BUCKLAND.</p> <p><sup>5</sup> Professor F. C. BURKITT.</p> <p><sup>16</sup> Professor JOHN BURNET.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Professor J. B. BURY.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Mr. S. H. BUTCHER.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Mr. INGRAM BYWATER.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Dr. EDWARD CAIRD.</p> <p><sup>36</sup> The Rev. Dr. A. J. CARLYLE.</p> <p><sup>35</sup> Professor H. M. CHADWICK.</p> <p><sup>37</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord CHALMERS, G.C.B.</p> <p><sup>37</sup> Professor R. W. CHAMBERS.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Ven. Archdeacon CHARLES.</p> <p><sup>40</sup> The Rev. M. P. CHARLESWORTH</p> <p><sup>4</sup> The Rev. Professor T. K. CHEYNE.</p> <p><sup>35</sup> Sir A. W. CLAPHAM, C.B.E.</p> <p><sup>38</sup> Sir J. H. CLAPHAM, C.B.E.</p> <p><sup>16</sup> Dr. A. C. CLARK.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rt. Hon. ARTHUR COHEN, K.C.</p> <p><sup>34</sup> Professor R. G. COLLINGWOOD.</p> <p><sup>16</sup> Professor R. S. CONWAY.</p> | <p><sup>3</sup> Dr. F. C. CONYBEARE.</p> <p><sup>33</sup> Professor S. A. COOK.</p> <p><sup>37</sup> Professor F. M. CORNFORD.</p> <p><sup>39</sup> Dr. G. G. COULTON.</p> <p><sup>6</sup> Dr. W. J. COURTHOPE, C.B.</p> <p><sup>4</sup> Professor E. B. COWELL.</p> <p><sup>19</sup> Sir ARTHUR E. COWLEY.</p> <p><sup>39</sup> The Rev. Professor J. M. CREED.</p> <p><sup>23</sup> Dr. WILLIAM CROOKE, C.I.E.</p> <p><sup>31</sup> Dr. W. E. CRUM.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Ven. Archdeacon CUNNINGHAM.</p> <p><sup>8</sup> The Most Hon. the Marquess CURZON OF KEDLESTON, K.G.</p> <p><sup>22</sup> Mr. O. M. DALTON.</p> <p><sup>27</sup> The Most Rev. C. F. D'ARCY.</p> <p><sup>5</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord DAVEY.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Professor T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.</p> <p><sup>25</sup> Professor H. W. C. DAVIS, C.B.E.</p> <p><sup>36</sup> Professor W. G. DE BURGH.</p> <p><sup>37</sup> Mr. J. D. DENNISTON, O.B.E.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Professor A. V. DICEY, K.C.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rt. Hon. Viscount DILLON, C.H.</p> <p><sup>39</sup> Dr. CAMPBELL DODGSON, C.B.E.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rev. Professor S. R. DRIVER.</p> <p><sup>30</sup> Professor J. WIGHT DUFF.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> Professor F. Y. EDGEWORTH.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Professor ROBINSON ELLIS.</p> <p><sup>24</sup> Professor O. ELTON.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Sir A. J. EVANS.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rev. A. M. FAIRBAIRN.</p> <p><sup>16</sup> Dr. L. R. FARNELL.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> Sir C. H. FIRTH.</p> <p><sup>7</sup> The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. FISHER, O.M.</p> <p><sup>14</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord FITZMAURICE.</p> <p><sup>6</sup> Professor J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> The Rev. Professor R. F. FLINT.</p> <p><sup>34</sup> Dr. R. E. W. FLOWER, C.B.E.</p> <p><sup>33</sup> Dr. J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.</p> <p><sup>5</sup> Professor H. S. FOXWELL.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> Professor A. CAMPBELL FRASER.</p> <p><sup>*</sup> Sir J. G. FRAZER, O.M.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> The Rt. Hon. Sir EDWARD FRY, G.C.B.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> Dr. F. J. FURNIVALL.</p> <p><sup>35</sup> Professor E. G. GARDNER.</p> <p><sup>3</sup> Professor P. GARDNER.</p> <p><sup>39</sup> Sir STEPHEN GASELEE, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.</p> |
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\* One of the First Fellows.

# DECEASED FELLOWS, 1950 (*continued*)

- <sup>27</sup> Dr. PETER GILES.
- \* Sir ISRAEL GOLLANZ.
- <sup>5</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord GOSCHEN.
- \* Professor B. P. GRENFELL.
- <sup>24</sup> Professor F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH.
- <sup>40</sup> Professor BATTISCOMBE GUNN.
- <sup>14</sup> The Rt. Hon. Viscount HALDANE, K.T., O.M.
- <sup>36</sup> Dr. H. R. H. HALL.
- <sup>42</sup> Dr. J. L. HAMMOND.
- <sup>4</sup> Professor F. J. HAVERFIELD.
- <sup>32</sup> Sir T. L. HEATH, K.C.B., K.C.V.O.
- <sup>26</sup> Professor C. H. HERFORD.
- <sup>27</sup> Professor G. DAWES HICKS.
- <sup>28</sup> Professor A. PEARCE HIGGINS, C.B.E., K.C.
- <sup>17</sup> Sir G. F. HILL, K.C.B.
- <sup>25</sup> Professor L. T. HOBHOUSE.
- \* Dr. THOMAS HODGKIN.
- \* Dr. S. H. HODGSON.
- <sup>5</sup> Dr. D. G. HOGARTH, C.M.G.
- <sup>22</sup> Sir W. S. HOLDSWORTH, O.M., K.C.
- \* Sir T. ERSKINE HOLLAND, K.C.
- <sup>35</sup> Dr. T. RICE HOLMES.
- <sup>12</sup> Professor A. S. HUNT.
- <sup>44</sup> The Rev. Dr. F. E. HUTCHINSON.
- \* Sir COURTENAY ILBERT, G.C.B.
- \* Dr. HENRY JACKSON, O.M.
- \* Dr. M. R. JAMES, O.M.
- \* Sir R. C. JEBB, O.M.
- <sup>30</sup> Dr. EDWARD JENKS.
- <sup>22</sup> Professor H. H. JOACHIM.
- <sup>32</sup> Mr. W. E. JOHNSON.
- <sup>4</sup> Sir HENRY JONES, C.H.
- <sup>15</sup> Sir H. STUART JONES.
- \* Mr. H. W. B. JOSEPH.
- <sup>9</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord Justice KENNEDY.
- <sup>9</sup> Professor C. S. KENNY.
- <sup>3</sup> Professor W. P. KER.
- <sup>20</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord KEYNES, C.B.
- <sup>34</sup> Mr. C. L. KINGSFORD.
- <sup>48</sup> The Rev. Dr. W. L. KNOX.
- <sup>33</sup> Professor J. LAIRD.
- \* Mr. ANDREW LANG.
- <sup>31</sup> Professor S. H. LANGDON.
- \* The Rt. Hon. W. E. H. LECKY, O.M.
- <sup>10</sup> Sir SIDNEY LEE.
- <sup>3</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord LINDLEY.
- <sup>5</sup> Professor W. M. LINDSAY.
- <sup>22</sup> Dr. A. G. LITTLE.
- <sup>20</sup> Sir J. E. LLOYD.
- <sup>3</sup> The Rt. Hon. Sir A. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.
- <sup>13</sup> Sir CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I.
- <sup>13</sup> Sir GEORGE MACDONALD, K.C.B.
- \* Professor A. A. MACDONELL.
- <sup>13</sup> Sir JOHN MACDONELL, K.C.B.
- <sup>14</sup> Dr. J. W. MACKAIL, O.M.
- <sup>24</sup> Professor J. S. MACKENZIE.
- <sup>22</sup> Dr. R. B. MCKERROW.
- <sup>24</sup> Dr. NORMAN McLEAN.
- \* Dr. J. ELLIS McTAGGART.
- \* Professor F. W. MAITLAND.
- <sup>31</sup> Dr. R. R. MARETT.
- <sup>15</sup> Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.
- \* Professor ALFRED MARSHALL.
- <sup>30</sup> Sir ALLEN MAWER.
- \* Sir H. C. MAXWELL-LYTE, K.C.B.
- \* The Rev. Professor J. E. B. MAYOR.
- <sup>22</sup> Dr. W. MILLER.
- \* Mr. D. B. MONRO.
- <sup>6</sup> The Rev. Canon MOORE.
- <sup>3</sup> Professor W. R. MORFILL.
- \* The Rt. Hon. Viscount MORLEY, O.M.
- <sup>31</sup> Professor J. H. MUIRHEAD.
- <sup>3</sup> Dr. A. S. MURRAY.
- \* Sir JAMES A. H. MURRAY.
- <sup>4</sup> Professor A. S. NAPIER.
- <sup>15</sup> Mr. W. L. NEWMAN.
- <sup>3</sup> Professor J. S. NICHOLSON.
- <sup>22</sup> Professor R. A. NICHOLSON.
- <sup>5</sup> Sir CHARLES W. C. OMAN, K.B.E.
- <sup>28</sup> The Rev. Dr. J. W. OMAN.
- <sup>24</sup> Professor A. C. PEARSON.
- <sup>4</sup> Dr. JOHN PEILE.
- \* Professor H. F. PELHAM.
- <sup>4</sup> Sir W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.
- <sup>14</sup> The Rev. Dr. C. PLUMMER.
- <sup>20</sup> Dr. A. F. POLLARD.
- <sup>22</sup> Dr. A. W. POLLARD, C.B.
- \* The Rt. Hon. Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK, Bart., K.C.
- <sup>4</sup> Dr. REGINALD L. POOLE.
- <sup>7</sup> Professor J. P. POSTGATE.
- <sup>29</sup> Professor C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON.
- <sup>32</sup> Professor H. A. PRICHARD.
- <sup>4</sup> Professor A. SETH PRINGLE-PATTISON.
- <sup>3</sup> Sir GEORGE W. PROTHERO, K.B.E.
- <sup>23</sup> Dr. L. C. PURSER.
- <sup>15</sup> Sir JAMES H. RAMSAY, Bart.
- <sup>28</sup> Dr. D. RANDALL-MACIVER.
- <sup>31</sup> Professor E. J. RAPSON.
- <sup>9</sup> The Very Rev. HASTINGS RASHDALL.
- <sup>13</sup> Sir C. HERCULES READ.
- \* The Rt. Hon. Lord REAY, K.T., G.C.S.I.
- <sup>17</sup> Professor JAMES SMITH REID.
- \* The Rt. Hon. Sir JOHN RHŶS.
- <sup>37</sup> Admiral Sir HERBERT W. RICHMOND, K.C.B.
- <sup>4</sup> Sir WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.
- <sup>30</sup> Professor J. G. ROBERTSON.
- <sup>3</sup> The Very Rev. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, K.C.V.O.
- \* The Rt. Hon. the Earl of ROSEBURY, K.G., K.T.
- <sup>17</sup> The Rt. Rev. BISHOP RYLE, K.C.V.O.
- <sup>11</sup> Professor GEORGE SAINTSBURY.
- \* The Rev. Provost GEORGE SALMON.
- \* The Rev. Professor WILLIAMS SANDAY.
- \* Sir JOHN E. SANDYS.

## DECEASED FELLOWS, 1950 (*continued*)

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| <p><sup>44</sup> Professor F. SAXL.<br/> <sup>15</sup> Professor W. R. SCOTT.<br/> <sup>27</sup> Professor E. de SELINCOURT.<br/> <sup>28</sup> Mr. A. F. SHAND.<br/> <sup>40</sup> Dr. W. A. SHAW.<br/> <sup>*</sup> The Rev. Professor W. W. SKEAT.<br/> <sup>29</sup> Professor D. A. SLATER.<br/> <sup>24</sup> Mr. A. HAMILTON SMITH, C.B.<br/> <sup>16</sup> The Very Rev. Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH.<br/> <sup>33</sup> Professor G. C. MOORE SMITH.<br/> <sup>5</sup> Professor W. R. SORLEY.<br/> <sup>26</sup> Professor ALEXANDER SOUTER.<br/> <sup>28</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord STAMP, G.C.B., G.B.E.<br/> <sup>21</sup> Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.<br/> <sup>*</sup> Sir LESLIE STEPHEN.<br/> <sup>*</sup> Dr. WHITLEY STOKES, C.S.I., C.I.E.<br/> <sup>3</sup> Professor G. F. STOUT.<br/> <sup>25</sup> The Rev. Canon B. H. STREETER.<br/> <sup>*</sup> The Rev. Professor H. B. SWETE.<br/> <sup>11</sup> Professor A. E. TAYLOR.<br/> <sup>27</sup> Professor H. W. V. TEMPERLEY, O.B.E.</p> | <p><sup>28</sup> Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., C.B., C.I.E.<br/> <sup>*</sup> Sir E. MAUNDE THOMPSON, G.C.B.<br/> <sup>24</sup> Dr. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.<br/> <sup>11</sup> Professor T. F. TOUT.<br/> <sup>10</sup> Dr. PAGET TOYNBEE.<br/> <sup>*</sup> The Rev. H. F. TOZER.<br/> <sup>4</sup> The Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE O. TREVELYAN, Bart., O.M.<br/> <sup>31</sup> Mr. G. J. TURNER.<br/> <sup>*</sup> Professor R. Y. TYRRELL.<br/> <sup>5</sup> Sir PAUL VINOGRADOFF.<br/> <sup>4</sup> Sir SPENCER WALPOLE, K.C.B.<br/> <sup>*</sup> Sir A. W. WARD.<br/> <sup>*</sup> Professor JAMES WARD.<br/> <sup>6</sup> Sir G. F. WARNER.<br/> <sup>31</sup> Mrs. BEATRICE WEBB.<br/> <sup>28</sup> The Very Rev. H. J. WHITE.<br/> <sup>31</sup> Professor A. N. WHITEHEAD, O.M.<br/> <sup>05</sup> Professor BASIL WILLIAMS, O.B.E.<br/> <sup>7</sup> Professor J. COOK WILSON.<br/> <sup>5</sup> The Rt. Rev. JOHN WORDSWORTH.<br/> <sup>4</sup> Professor JOSEPH WRIGHT.</p> |
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### RETIRED

- <sup>16</sup> Professor A. A. BEVAN.  
<sup>17</sup> Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E.  
<sup>27</sup> Dr. J. RENDEL HARRIS.  
<sup>26</sup> Professor A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.  
<sup>\*</sup> Sir W. M. RAMSAY.  
<sup>28</sup> Dr. J. HOLLAND ROSE.  
<sup>26</sup> Dr. F. C. S. SCHILLER.  
<sup>21</sup> Professor JAMES TAIT.  
<sup>23</sup> Sir HERBERT THOMPSON, Bart.  
<sup>9</sup> Professor CUTHBERT H. TURNER.

### HONORARY

- <sup>23</sup> Dr. FRANCIS HERBERT BRADLEY, O.M.  
<sup>21</sup> The Rt. Rev. Bishop G. FORREST BROWNE.  
<sup>16</sup> The Rt. Hon. the Earl of CROMER, G.C.B., O.M.  
<sup>22</sup> Dr. CHARLES MONTAGU DOUGHTY.  
<sup>18</sup> The Rt. Hon. Sir SAMUEL WALKER GRIFFITH, G.C.M.G.  
<sup>22</sup> The Rt. Hon. Lord PHILLIMORE.  
<sup>29</sup> The Rev. Professor A. H. SAYCE.  
<sup>28</sup> The Rt. Hon. Viscount WAKEFIELD, G.C.V.O., C.B.E.

### CORRESPONDING

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><sup>4</sup> Count UGO BALZANI (Italy).<br/> <sup>14</sup> M. CHARLES BÉMONT (France).<br/> <sup>11</sup> M. HENRI BERGSON (France).<br/> <sup>27</sup> Professor JOSEPH BIDEZ (Belgium).<br/> <sup>17</sup> M. CHARLES BORGEAUD (Switzerland).<br/> <sup>7</sup> M. ÉMILE BOUTROUX (France).<br/> <sup>24</sup> Dr. JAMES H. BREASTED (U.S.A.).<br/> <sup>18</sup> Professor F. K. BRUGMANN (Germany).<br/> <sup>22</sup> M. JEAN CAPART (Belgium).<br/> <sup>17</sup> Professor ÉMILE CARTAILLAC (France).</p> | <p><sup>14</sup> Senatore DOMENICO COMPARETTI (Italy).<br/> <sup>20</sup> M. HENRI CORDIER (France).<br/> <sup>16</sup> Professor A. CROISSET (France).<br/> <sup>16</sup> M. F. CUMONT (Belgium).<br/> <sup>25</sup> Professor ROBERT DAVIDSOHN (Germany).<br/> <sup>20</sup> Père HIPPOLYTE DELEHAYE (Belgium).<br/> <sup>7</sup> M. LÉOPOLD DELISLE (France).<br/> <sup>27</sup> Professor CHARLES DIEHL (France).<br/> <sup>4</sup> Professor H. DIELS (Germany).<br/> <sup>10</sup> Monseigneur DUCHESNE (France).</p> |
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# DECEASED FELLOWS, 1950 (continued)

## CORRESPONDING (continued)

- <sup>14</sup> Mr. CHARLES W. ELIOT (U.S.A.).
- <sup>22</sup> Professor ADOLF ERMAN (Germany).
- <sup>34</sup> Professor TENNEY FRANK (U.S.A.).
- <sup>4</sup> M. le Comte de FRANQUEVILLE (France).
- <sup>28</sup> Professor WILHELM GEIGER (Germany).
- <sup>13</sup> Professor OTTO von GIERKE (Germany).
- <sup>7</sup> Professor BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE (U.S.A.).
- <sup>4</sup> Professor M. J. de GOEJE (Holland).
- <sup>4</sup> Professor I. GOLDZIER (Hungary).
- <sup>4</sup> Professor T. GOMPERZ (Austria).
- <sup>17</sup> Senatore IGNAZIO GUIDI (Italy).
- <sup>17</sup> President ARTHUR T. HADLEY (U.S.A.).
- <sup>7</sup> Professor ADOLF HARNACK (Germany).
- <sup>26</sup> Professor CHARLES HOMER HASKINS (U.S.A.).
- <sup>17</sup> Professor LOUIS HAVET (France).
- <sup>4</sup> Professor J. L. HEIBERG (Denmark).
- <sup>47</sup> Professor ERNST E. HERZFELD (Germany).
- <sup>7</sup> Professor HARALD HØFFDING (Denmark).
- <sup>7</sup> Mr. Justice HOLMES (U.S.A.).
- <sup>18</sup> Professor CHRISTIAN SNOUCK HURGRONJE (Holland).
- <sup>26</sup> Professor EDMUND HUSSERL (Germany).
- <sup>7</sup> Professor WILLIAM JAMES (U.S.A.).
- <sup>18</sup> Dr. J. FRANKLIN JAMESON (U.S.A.).
- <sup>23</sup> Professor OTTO JESPERSEN (Denmark).
- <sup>41</sup> Sir GANGANATH JHA, C.I.E. (India).
- <sup>20</sup> Professor FINNUR JÓNSSON (Iceland).
- <sup>20</sup> M. PIERRE JOUGUET (France).
- <sup>11</sup> His Excellency M. J. JUSSERAND (France).
- <sup>28</sup> Professor PAUL KEHR (Germany).
- <sup>10</sup> Professor G. L. KITTREDGE (U.S.A.).
- <sup>27</sup> Professor WILHELM KROLL (Germany).
- <sup>4</sup> Professor K. KRUMBACHER (Germany).
- <sup>20</sup> Professor C. R. LANMAN (U.S.A.).
- <sup>16</sup> M. ERNEST LAVISSE (France).
- <sup>9</sup> Mr. H. C. LEA (U.S.A.).
- <sup>44</sup> Dom HENRI LECLERCQ, O.S.B. (France).
- <sup>24</sup> Professor ÉMILE LEGOUIS (France).
- <sup>23</sup> Professor O. LENEL (Germany).
- <sup>4</sup> Professor F. LEO (Holland).
- <sup>26</sup> Professor H. L. LÉVY-ULLMANN (France).
- <sup>9</sup> Dr. F. LIEBERMANN (Germany).
- <sup>13</sup> President A. LAWRENCE LOWELL (U.S.A.).
- <sup>26</sup> Professor J. LIVINGSTON LOWES (U.S.A.).
- <sup>20</sup> Dr. CHARLES LYON-CAEN (France).
- <sup>7</sup> Professor FREDERICK DE MARTEN (Russia).
- <sup>20</sup> Dr. T. G. MASARYK (Czechoslovakia).
- <sup>9</sup> Don MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO (Spain).
- <sup>10</sup> Professor EDUARD MEYER (Germany).
- <sup>4</sup> M. PAUL MEYER (France).
- <sup>13</sup> Professor ERNEST NYS (Belgium).
- <sup>18</sup> Professor B. M. OLSEN (Iceland).
- <sup>14</sup> M. H. OMONT (France).
- <sup>28</sup> Professor WALTER OTTO (Germany).
- <sup>21</sup> Professor PAUL PELLIOU (France).
- <sup>4</sup> M. GEORGES PERROT (France).
- <sup>40</sup> M. CHARLES PETIT-DUTAILLIS (France).
- <sup>4</sup> M. GEORGES PICOT (France).
- <sup>21</sup> Professor HENRI PIRENNE (Belgium).
- <sup>20</sup> Professor PIO RAJNA (Italy).
- <sup>27</sup> Professor EDWARD KENNARD RAND (U.S.A.).
- <sup>11</sup> M. SALOMON REINACH (France).
- <sup>9</sup> His Excellency M. LOUIS RENAULT (France).
- <sup>11</sup> Mr. J. F. RHODES (U.S.A.).
- <sup>16</sup> His Excellency M. RIBOT (France).
- <sup>16</sup> The Hon. ELIHU ROOT (U.S.A.).
- <sup>16</sup> Professor JOSIAH ROYCE (U.S.A.).
- <sup>22</sup> Professor REMIGIO SABBADINI (Italy).
- <sup>7</sup> Professor KARL EDUARD SACHAU (Germany).
- <sup>4</sup> Professor C. H. SALEMANN (Russia).
- <sup>23</sup> Père VINCENT SCHEIL (France).
- <sup>10</sup> M. SENART (France).
- <sup>9</sup> Professor E. SIEVERS (Germany).
- <sup>26</sup> Professor JYUN TAKAKUSU (Japan).
- <sup>40</sup> Professor A. M. TALLGREN (Finland).
- <sup>25</sup> Professor FRANCIS WILLIAM TAUSIG (U.S.A.).
- <sup>9</sup> The Prince of TEANO (Italy).
- <sup>23</sup> M. F. THUREAU-DANGIN (France).
- <sup>14</sup> Signor PASQUALE VILLARI (Italy).
- <sup>7</sup> Professor ULRICH von WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF (Germany).
- <sup>26</sup> Professor ULRICH WILCKEN (Germany).
- <sup>21</sup> Professor ADOLF WILHELM (Austria).
- <sup>10</sup> Professor D. ERNST WINDISCH (Germany).
- <sup>26</sup> Professor THADDEUS ZIELINSKI (Poland).

# THE BRITISH ACADEMY

## OFFICERS AND COUNCIL

JULY 1950

### *PRESIDENT :*

SIR C. K. WEBSTER, K.C.M.G.

### *COUNCIL :*

- <sup>48</sup> THE REV. M. P. CHARLESWORTH.
- <sup>49</sup> SIR A. W. CLAPHAM, C.B.E.
- <sup>49(48)</sup> THE REV. PROFESSOR C. H. DODD.
- <sup>48</sup> PROFESSOR J. GORONWY EDWARDS.
- <sup>49</sup> PROFESSOR H. A. R. GIBB.
- <sup>49</sup> SIR W. W. GREG.
- <sup>50</sup> MR. R. G. HAWTREY, C.B.
- <sup>50(48)</sup> THE REV. PROFESSOR M. D. KNOWLES.
- <sup>50</sup> PROFESSOR R. A. B. MYNORS.
- <sup>48</sup> SIR A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.
- <sup>49</sup> SIR W. D. ROSS, K.B.E.
- <sup>50</sup> PROFESSOR D. NICHOL SMITH.
- <sup>50</sup> PROFESSOR R. SYME.
- <sup>50</sup> SIR R. L. TURNER.
- <sup>49</sup> SIR P. H. WINFIELD.

### *TREASURER :*

DR. R. E. M. WHEELER, C.I.E.  
BURLINGTON GARDENS, LONDON, W. 1.

### *SECRETARY :*

DR. R. E. M. WHEELER, C.I.E.  
BURLINGTON GARDENS, LONDON, W. 1.

<sup>48</sup> Elected 1948.

<sup>49</sup> Elected 1949.

<sup>50</sup> Elected 1950.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
BRITISH ACADEMY  
1950



# BRITISH ACADEMY ANNUAL REPORT

1949-50

1. DEATHS AND ELECTIONS.—The Academy has lost five Ordinary Fellows by death during the year: Mr. T. W. Allen, Professor S. A. Cook, Professor Battiscombe Gunn, Canon W. L. Knox, and Professor Basil Williams.

During the same period one Corresponding Fellow has died, namely, Monsieur Pierre Jouquet.

In July 1949 the following were elected to Ordinary Fellowship: Professor A. J. Arberry, Dr. R. W. Chapman, Sir Kenneth Clark, Professor David Douglas, Professor R. W. Firth, The Rev. Dr. W. F. Howard, Professor J. E. Neale, Dr. Rudolf Pfeiffer, Mr. A. E. Popham.

At the same meeting the following were elected to Corresponding Fellowship: Professor C. W. Blegen, Professor W. B. Dinsmoor, and Monsieur Georges Lefebvre.

Earl Russell was elected to an Honorary Fellowship.

The total number of Fellows before the elections of July 1950 was 156 Ordinary Fellows, 50 Corresponding Fellows, and 1 Honorary Fellow.

2. LECTURES.—The following lectures were delivered during the year on the foundations administered by the Academy:

SCHWEICH LECTURES, by Professor Georges Dossin, on *Les Archives de Mari dans ses Rapports avec l'Ancien Testament* (12, 14, 16 December).

ITALIAN LECTURE, by Professor A. P. d'Entrèves, on *Alessandro Manzoni* (25 January).

PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE, by Mr. R. B. Braithwaite, on *Moral Principles and Inductive Policies* (15 February).

ASPECTS OF ART LECTURE, by Professor A. F. Blunt, on *Nicolas Poussin and his Relation to Antiquity* (8 March).

SIR JOHN RHYS MEMORIAL LECTURE, by Professor Idris Ll. Foster, on *The Book of the Anchorite* (29 March).

SHAKESPEARE LECTURE, by Mr. H. V. D. Dyson, on *The Emergence of Shakespeare's Tragedy* (26 April).

RALEIGH LECTURE, by Professor E. L. Woodward, on *Some Considerations on the Present State of Historical Studies* (17 May).

WARTON LECTURE, by Professor D. G. James, on *Wordsworth and Tennyson* (7 June).

MASTER-MIND LECTURE. Not given owing to the death of Field-Marshal Earl Wavell, who had consented to lecture on *Belisarius*.

3. PUBLICATIONS.—The *Proceedings* for 1945 (vol. XXXI); Supplemental Paper No. VIII by Dr. Cecil Roth on *The Intellectual Activities of Medieval English Jewry*; *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* by R. Campbell Thompson; and *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, vol. III, part v, *The Lockett Collection* have been published. The following volumes partially subsidized by the Academy have also been issued: Pipe Roll Society, New Series, vol. 24, *Pipe Roll—11 John*; Canterbury and York Society, the *Register of Hamo de Hethe*, edited by Mr. Charles Johnson, and the *Acta Stephani Langton* edited by Miss Kathleen Major; and the Anglo-Norman Text Society, *Dialogue de Saint-Julien et son Disciple* edited by M. Adrien Bonjour.

4. AWARDS.—The following prizes and medals were awarded: Serena Medal for Italian Studies: Professor Étienne Gilson. Burkitt Medal for Biblical Studies: Professor T. W. Manson. Rose Mary Crawshay Prize: Miss Helen Darbishire for her recently published *Clark Lectures* and in recognition of her collaboration in an edition of Wordsworth's *Poetical Works*. Cromer Greek Prize: Mr. A. J. Gossage for his essay on *The Social and Economic Conditions of the Peloponnese in the First Two Centuries A.D.*

5. REPRESENTATION.—Sir Charles Webster and Professor R. A. B. Mynors, with Professor J. H. Baxter as Assessor, were appointed to represent the Academy at the meeting of the Union Académique Internationale at Brussels in June 1950.

Professor Leon Roth was appointed to represent the Academy at the 25th Anniversary of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem; and Professor Basil Willey at the Wordsworth Centenary Celebrations.

The following further appointments were made of representatives of the Academy on various bodies: Sir Cyril Fox on the Court of Governors of the University College of the South West, Exeter; Professor S. R. K. Glanville on the Council of the British School in Iraq; Dr. Grahame Clark on the Council for British Archaeology; Sir Kenneth Clark and Professor R. A. B. Mynors on the Council of the British Institute of Florence; and Professor R. A. B. Mynors on the Editorial Board of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

Professor F. W. Thomas was reappointed to the Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies for a further period of five years.

6. PRESENTATION.—In recognition of Sir Frederic Kenyon's long and outstanding service to the Academy as Fellow, President, Treasurer, and Secretary, a portrait of him by Mr. Augustus John was presented to him by the Fellows at a luncheon on 19 April 1950. The portrait now hangs in the principal Lecture Room.

7. FINANCE.—The Government has agreed that in future the Academy shall act as its medium in the distribution of Treasury funds

to appropriate Schools and Institutions, at home and abroad, concerned with the study of Archaeology and Art. Grants to these bodies will in future be combined with the Government grant to the Academy as a single block grant, to be dispensed at the discretion of the Academy. For 1950-1 this block grant will be £33,500, which has been allocated by the Council of the Academy as follows:

	£
British School at Rome . . . . .	5,400
British School at Athens . . . . .	5,600
British School in Iraq . . . . .	4,000
British Institute at Ankara . . . . .	6,000
Egypt Exploration Society . . . . .	4,500
Council for British Archaeology . . . . .	3,000
British Academy . . . . .	5,000

From the funds of the Academy the following grants have been made in the course of the year:

<i>General Fund (renewals):</i>	£
Pipe Roll Society . . . . .	100
Canterbury and York Society . . . . .	100
Anglo-Norman Text Society . . . . .	50
British National Committee of the International Historical Congress	35
Publication of Cotton MS. Julius E.1. Third instalment . . . . .	300
Political Works of William of Ockham . . . . .	100
Royal Asiatic Society . . . . .	300
Thesaurus Linguae Latinae . . . . .	80
Dr. S. Weinstock, for work on Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum . . . . .	200
English Place-Name Society . . . . .	150
Royal Institute of Philosophy . . . . .	75
International Academy of Comparative Law . . . . .	35
Dictionary of the Terminology of International Law (Norwegian Academy) . . . . .	50
Medieval Latin Dictionary . . . . .	300
Professor P. Jacobsthal, for work on Celtic Antiquities . . . . .	50
Professor H. J. W. Tillyard, for expenses in connexion with Monu- menta Musicae Byzantinae . . . . .	70

*General Fund (new proposals):*

Journal of Roman Studies (Index) . . . . .	100
Map of Roman Libya . . . . .	50
Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania . . . . .	200
Excavations at Mycenae by Professor A. J. B. Wace . . . . .	100
Excavations in Cyprus by Miss Joan du Plat Taylor . . . . .	200
Colchester Centenary Excavation Fund . . . . .	100
Second British Archaeological Expedition to Apulia . . . . .	150

*Schweich Fund:*

Lexicon of Patristic Greek . . . . .	100
Palestine Exploration Fund . . . . .	400



*Stein-Arnold Fund:*

To the Government of Pakistan for the continuation of excavations  
at Mohenjo-daro . . . . . 400

A legacy of £500 has been gratefully received by the Academy under the will of Professor S. A. Cook, F.B.A.

8. STEIN-ARNOLD FUND.—A part of the Stein-Arnold Fund has now been placed at the disposal of the Academy, and the following decisions have been made on the recommendations of the Stein-Arnold Committee:

(1) That priority be given to the publication of Sir Aurel Stein's MS. Report of his Survey of the Roman Frontier in Iraq in 1938-9. An Editorial Committee, consisting of Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, Professor A. H. M. Jones, Professor Kenneth Mason, Professor Ronald Syme, and the Secretary, was constituted to prepare the typescript for the press and to make other necessary arrangements.

(2) That, beginning with 1949, £100 per annum should be set aside from the income of the Stein-Arnold Fund for the purpose of this publication.

(3) That the Academy should in due course proceed with the scheme which Sir Aurel Stein had in his later years most nearly at heart, namely, the exploration of Balkh in Afghanistan.

(4) That as a gesture to Pakistan, through which any expedition for this purpose would have to proceed, a grant of £400 should be given immediately from the Stein-Arnold Fund to the Government of Pakistan towards the cost of an excavation which the Government of Pakistan was to carry out at Mohenjo-daro.

(5) That Mr. L. P. Kirwan, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, and Sir Norman Edgley, K.C., F.S.A., be invited to serve upon the Stein-Arnold Committee.

9. INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PHILOSOPHY AND HUMANISTIC STUDIES.—The Council has now been admitted to the privilege of consultative arrangements with UNESCO, and has concluded an agreement with it. The purpose of the Council is to centralize and organize the activities of humanistic societies and to represent humanistic studies *vis-à-vis* UNESCO, as the International Council of Scientific Unions does for science: it examines the demands for subventions presented by the member bodies, presents those approved to UNESCO, and helps to promote or to sponsor certain schemes delegated to it by UNESCO, such as the cultural and scientific history of mankind and the history of the rise of dictatorship in recent times. A co-ordinating committee has been appointed to co-operate with the International Council of Scientific Unions.

Sir Harold Bell, who is a Vice-President of the Council, has attended all the meetings of the Standing Committee. The Academy is con-

nected with the Council not directly but as a member of the Union Académique Internationale, which is the nucleus of the new body and by arrangement is to have always two-fifths of the voting power.

10. **THESAURUS LINGUAE LATINAE.**—An appeal has been issued by the President of the Academy in association with the Presidents of the Classical Association, the Classical Association of Scotland, and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, for funds for the completion of the *Thesaurus*. The text of the appeal is as follows:

It is universally felt among Classical scholars, as well as among the many theologians, historians and lawyers who are concerned with the heritage of ancient Rome, that the completion of the great *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, which aims at being an exhaustive dictionary of Latin down to the early Middle Ages on the most ample scale, is one of the prime desiderata in the field of their studies. Some account of the *Thesaurus* was given in an article published in *The Times* of 25 May 1949. Work on the dictionary began in 1894, and nearly half of the work had been published when printing was interrupted in 1943. Fortunately, though the stock of published volumes and some fasciculi not yet sent to foreign subscribers was destroyed in air raids on Germany, the materials themselves have been preserved, and work has been begun towards the continuation of the undertaking, which is now in the hands of an international committee, supported by the International Federation of Classical Societies, and must be financed by international funds. The University of Oxford has already given £50 for the purpose, and the British Academy £160. The importance of the *Thesaurus* itself and the value of the Classical tradition in British life and scholarship seem to justify a direct approach to other Universities and University Colleges.

The British Academy is prepared to act as a centre for the collection and the transfer of the various grants made for the *Thesaurus*. It is also nominating a representative to sit on the international committee. Thus British scholarship will be closely associated with the undertaking and it is most desirable that sufficient funds should be available and that this country should play an adequate part. We would therefore ask you whether your institution would be prepared to support the work by a single subscription, or, if possible, by an annual grant of not less than £10.

As a result of this appeal contributions amounting to £1,030 2s. *od.* have been received to date.

The work is making satisfactory progress although, owing to post-war conditions, the staff is still too small; however, efforts are being made to overcome this obstacle.

Last year, two fasciculi (Vol. V, 2, fasc. 11, *expavesco*—*expono*, and Vol. VIII, fasc. 5, *membrum*—*mercor*) were published; within the next few months, a third fascicule (Vol. V, 2, fasc. 12) is to be issued.

11. **PIPE ROLL SOCIETY.**—During the year 1949 the Pipe Roll for 1209 was issued to members of the Pipe Roll Society as the volume for the year 1946. The publication of a facsimile edition of a twelfth-century copy of the Herefordshire Domesday with contemporary

annotations, and the Pipe Roll for 1210, is imminent. An edition of the Norfolk Feet of Fines, 1198-1202, is almost ready to be sent to the printers.

12. ANGLO-NORMAN TEXT SOCIETY.—The work published early in the present year, which is the eighth of the texts now edited for the Society, is the thirteenth-century metrical *Dialogue de Saint Julien et son disciple*, which consists of passages translated from the *Prognosticon futuri seculi* by Saint Julian of Toledo, selected and re-arranged by the versifier. The Latin text of some portions is added to the usual apparatus by the editor, Dr. Adrien Bonjour. Among the texts now in preparation the most important are the romance of *King Horn*, the *Chronicle of Jordan Fantosme*, an Anglo-Norman version of portions of Wace's *Brut*, and the Anglo-Norman pieces included in Wright's *Political Songs of England*, with some additions to these. The collection by many volunteer workers of material for a comprehensive Anglo-Norman Glossary is so far advanced that it is now possible to make arrangements for the preparation of this much-needed work.

13. CANTERBURY AND YORK SOCIETY.—The final part of the *Register of Hamo de Hethe*, Bishop of Rochester, edited by Mr. Charles Johnson, and the *Acta of Archbishop Stephen Langton*, transcribed and edited by Miss Kathleen Major, have been published. Progress has been made with the printing of the final part of the *Register of Archbishop Winchelsey* and with the transcription of the *Register of Archbishop Langham* by Mr. A. C. Wood, and of the *Register of Archbishop Bouchier* by Mr. Robin du Boulay.

14. LEXICON OF PATRISTIC GREEK.—During the year the staff of the *Lexicon* has been considerably augmented and now comprises nine members, including the Editor, the Rev. G. W. H. Lampe. It has therefore been possible to proceed more rapidly than hitherto, and the rate of progress is expected to increase during 1950. The one complicating factor is the large number of words which were omitted from the original word-list but on more thorough investigation are found to demand inclusion.

The increased staff necessary to secure reasonable progress has naturally presented a difficult financial problem. The University of Oxford has guaranteed a total sum of £5,000, but it is hoped that private generosity will continue, particularly to meet the expenses of proof-reading and the like which will be incurred after the completed work has been sent to the Clarendon Press.

15. CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM.—The fascicule dealing with the vases in Reading University was nearly complete at the time of the death of Professor P. N. Ure, and the material for the plates is now in the hands of the Oxford University Press. The text is being

prepared for the printer by Mrs. Ure, who is also responsible for certain of the sections. (See also below, paragraph 22.)

16. **MEDIEVAL LATIN DICTIONARY.**—More offers to read texts have been received as a result of the appeal issued in 1948 and about 6,000 slips, including some from the American Committee, have been received during the year. Among the inquiries made was one from Dr. Michaud Quantin of the French National Centre of Scientific Research, who is engaged on a general corpus of French philosophers. At the invitation of the Chairman, Dr. Quantin visited Oxford and discussed the possibility of co-operation on Theological and Philosophical Texts with Dr. Callus.

Work has proceeded on the proposed Supplementary *Word-List*. Most of the existing material has been sorted and a draft has been completed of the letters F and G. The Editor (Mr. R. E. Latham) has expressed the opinion that the Supplement as hitherto planned would be quite as long as the published *Word-List*. In view of this estimate the Committee has decided that instead of a Supplement a new edition of the *Word-List* shall be prepared incorporating the whole of the additional material. (See also below, paragraph 22.)

17. **CORPUS PHILOSOPHORUM MEDII AEVI.**—This corpus is one of the publications in which the Academy is taking a part with the Union Académique Internationale (see below, paragraph 22). In so far as the Academy is concerned in the project the corpus falls into two main parts, the *Corpus Aristotelicum* and the *Corpus Platonicum*.

*Corpus Aristotelicum.*—Negotiations are in progress for the printing of the second volume of the *Catalogue of MSS*.

*Corpus Platonicum.*—This in turn falls into two parts, the *Plato Latinus* and the *Plato Arabus*.

#### A. *Plato Latinus*

(1) *Plato, Parmenides*—*Proclus, Commentaria in Parmenidem*. For several months the text and critical apparatus of one part of the edition have been ready in galley-proofs and the manuscript of the remaining part of the volume is with the printers.

(2) *Chalcidius's Translation of, and Commentary on, the Timaeus*. The edition, prepared by Professor J. H. Waszink of Leiden University and Professor P. J. Jensen of the University of Copenhagen, is progressing well. Professor Waszink has examined the text of Chalcidius's Commentary in some forty manuscripts.

(3) *Plato, Phaedo*. The printing of this edition which has been prepared by Dr. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello has been completed. The volume is about to be sent to the binders.

#### B. *Plato Arabus*

(1) *Galenus, Compendium Timaei aliorumque quae extant dialogorum fragmenta*. The printing of this volume at the Imprimerie Catholique at

Beirut has now been completed. The sheets are on their way to this country.

(2) *Alfarabi, Summary of Plato's Laws*. Dr. Francesco Gabrieli, Professor of Arabic at the University of Rome, sent the revised manuscript of his edition to Dr. Walzer in January 1950 for publication.

(3) *Theologia Aristotelis*. An agreement has been reached with Dr. Paul Henry, S.J., the editor of the Greek text of Plotinus, who will co-operate in compiling a linguistic and philosophical commentary illustrating the relation of the *Theologia Aristotelis* to Plotinus.

(4) *Liber de causis*. The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies has made a survey of the Latin manuscripts in Paris and is establishing the Latin text of the work.

18. ENGLISH PLACE-NAME SOCIETY.—Volume I of *The Place-Names of Cumberland* is about to appear, and *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire* will go to press shortly. Good progress has also been made on Derbyshire and the exceedingly difficult county of Somerset, and some work has been done on Suffolk.

19. ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PHILOSOPHY.—During the year a further grant has been made towards the publication of *Philosophy*.

20. ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.—Changes in Asia have made it increasingly difficult for this Society to fulfil its task and the Academy has therefore continued its financial support.

21. BRITISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL CONGRESS.—The official representatives of the Academy on the Committee are Dr. G. N. Clark, Professor J. Goronwy Edwards, and Professor V. H. Galbraith; a number of other members are Fellows of the Academy, including the Chairman, Dr. E. F. Jacob. The Warden of All Souls resigned the Honorary Treasurership last October, but remains a member of the Committee. Sir Charles Webster, the ex-Chairman, is a Vice-President of the International Congress of Historical Sciences and represented the Committee at meetings of the International Bureau held in London in June 1949. At these meetings plans were made for the holding of the first full-scale International Conference of Historians since the war. The Conference will be held in Paris from 28 August to 3 September 1950. Over 100 delegates will be attending from this country, including representatives from universities and learned institutions. Fourteen papers are to be read at the Conference by British historians, and reports from various sub-committees submitted by others.

The International Congress, with the assistance of its national committees, has resumed the publication of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*, and other publications are in preparation, entailing

considerable work by members of the British National Committee. It may be expected that, after the Paris Conference, further responsibilities will be assigned to the Committee.

A successful Anglo-French Conference of Historians was held in Oxford from 19 to 23 September 1949.

22. UNION ACADEMIQUE INTERNATIONALE.—The annual meeting was held at the Palais des Académies, Brussels, on 12-17 June. The representatives of the British Academy were Sir Charles Webster and Professor R. A. B. Mynors, with Professor J. H. Baxter as Délégué-Adjoint. Eleven countries were represented and there was also an observer from Canada, which was subsequently admitted as a member. Considerable attention was paid to the position of the U.A.I. in the Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies whose Chairman was present during part of the session. Through this body, on which the U.A.I. has a position corresponding to its importance, application is made to UNESCO for grants towards the projects sponsored by the U.A.I. In 1949 and 1950 such grants have been made to a number of undertakings and others are promised for 1951. Steps were taken to prepare the applications for 1952. For this purpose it has been decided to place the responsibility for reporting on the different projects on specified persons who will prepare reports and estimates of expenditure. The plan of appointing a special secretary for such work has not succeeded, and the secretary of the U.A.I., M. Tourneur, will undertake it, while the Bureau of the U.A.I. will hold a special meeting to consider his report and take final decisions upon it.

Professor G. Lugli of Italy, who presided in the absence of the President, M. de Visscher, was elected President, Professor Høeg (Denmark) and Professor Mayence (Belgium) Vice-Presidents, Professor Mynors (United Kingdom) Secretary-General, and Professor Pos (Netherlands) Secretary-Adjoint. Sir Charles Webster was appointed one of the representatives of the U.A.I. on the Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. The Union Académique Internationale accepted unanimously the suggestion of the British Academy that the meeting of 1951 should be held in London on 18-23 June.

#### PROJECTS OF THE U.A.I.

(1) *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*. This work, now under the direction of Professor Mensing, has made considerable progress. The funds provided by the British, Danish and Netherlands Academies and by UNESCO have enabled a minute examination of the material to be made and further fascicules to be prepared.

(2) *Dictionnaire de la Terminologie du Droit International*. M. Basdevant, who directs this enterprise was also able to report much progress. Funds have been provided by the Norwegian Academy and other bodies as well as by UNESCO. The suggestion was made that contact

should be made with British and American scholars though the terms studied have been those employed in the French language.

(3) *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. (See also above, paragraph 15.) Work continues on numerous fascicules, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, the Musée du Louvre, the Archaeological Museum in Barcelona, and the Metropolitan Museum in New York have each a fascicule ready for printing. Each part costs about U.S. \$1,500, and the subventions provided for the current year by UNESCO amount to \$2,000 only. It was decided to divide this between Vienna and Paris, in hopes of a larger subvention next year which would allow of further grants to those two fascicules, and also of substantial help to New York and Barcelona. M. Mayence was asked to consider the preparation of a circular designed to check any departures from the agreed system of description, and also to prepare specimen cards for a possible common index to the C.V.A. as so far published.

(4) *Catalogue of Latin Alchemical MSS.* Mr. James Corbett is continuing the inventory of French libraries outside Paris, and Dr. G. Goldschmidt expects soon to finish Switzerland. Dr. S. Weinstock is making good progress with Great Britain.

(5) *Works of Grotius*. There was nothing to report.

(6) *Medieval Latin Dictionary*. (See also above, paragraph 16.) It was decided to appoint an Editorial Committee, consisting of Messrs. Baxter (Great Britain), Blatt (Denmark), Franceschini (Italy), Roques (France), Svennung (Sweden), and van de Woestyne (Belgium), and request them to meet in September 1950 to draw up a working plan and preliminary budget for the international Dictionary, to be submitted to the constituent Academies. It will be the duty of that Committee to appoint an Editor-in-chief to direct the work, with headquarters in Paris. Academies are asked to give financial support to this project, preferably by voting annual contributions continuing for five years.

(7) *Forma Orbis Romani*, and *Corpus of Greek and Latin Inscriptions*. Progress on the *Forma* was reported from Spain, but work in Italy is held up by the lack of funds for publication. The French are making good headway with the inscriptions of Syria, Algeria, and Delos.

(8) *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi*. (See also above, paragraph 17.) It was decided to extend the patronage of the Union to the project for a bibliography of Medieval and Renaissance translations from the Greek, and commentaries on ancient Greek and Latin authors, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies.

A report was submitted on the progress of the *Plato Latinus* and *Plato Arabus*.

Signor Franceschini presented the printers' copy (complete except for MSS. in Poland, on which further information is awaited from Dr. Birkenmaier) of his description of about 700 MSS. of the Latin translations of Aristotle in nine different countries. MSS. in Spanish libraries

have already been described by Dr. Minio-Paluello, and the second and final volume of the catalogue of Aristotle MSS., for which we offered to find a publisher three years ago, is therefore now practically ready to go to press. Our negotiations having made no progress for some time, Professor Mynors was asked to try some fresh approach towards finding a publisher, and if possible a subsidy, in this country.

Progress with the editing of the texts of the Latin Aristotle depends on the finding of editors, and the prospect of publication. Dr. Franceschini is to prepare a summary of the present state of the enterprise as a starting-point for further progress; Canon Mansion is to investigate the possibility of printing a text of the *translatio vetus* of the *de Anima*, prepared by Dr. Raeder. A revision of the pamphlet of instructions to editors is also to be put in hand.

(9) *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. Dr. Lowe reports that he hopes to publish Volume V (Paris) during 1950, and is well on with Volume VI (other French libraries).

(10) *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. The chief event of the year has been the establishment of scholarly collaboration between the *Monumenta* and the similar enterprise in progress at Grottaferrata, an agreement long-desired which gives the greatest satisfaction to all concerned. Only one volume—Professor H. J. W. Tillyard's *Hymns of the Octoëchus*, Part II—has appeared during the year, but several others should be ready in the near future. Professor Tillyard has visited Greece, where he has collated several hymns in Cod. A. (Athen. 883) at the National Library, and acquired the requisite data for the completion of his musical edition of the Pentecostarion in the *Monumenta Mus. Byz. Transcripta*.





## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By SIR H. I. BELL

12 July 1950

THE year which concludes with this meeting has been an eventful one in our history. In my last Presidential Address I referred to various schemes which were under consideration for extending the activities of the Academy and increasing its efficiency as the central representative of humanistic studies in Great Britain. Among others I mentioned the formation of an Advisory Committee to assist the Council by preparing for its consideration such business as requires freer and more detailed discussion than is possible in the larger body, with its often very full Agenda. This Committee, which has met several times, has already proved its usefulness. Its first task was to prepare a memorial to the Treasury, setting forth our difficulties and making various proposals for the future. The memorial was submitted last autumn, and following on it a small delegation was received by officials of the Treasury. Our representations were accorded a very sympathetic hearing, and the discussion which followed was certainly fruitful. One of our suggestions concerned the subventions made annually by the Treasury to various archaeological schools and societies. Hitherto, though the applications of these had for the most part been sent through the Academy, the payments had been made direct to the bodies concerned. Moreover, by an anomaly which seems to have been accidental in origin, one or two had been throughout in immediate contact with the Treasury, and had never submitted their applications to us. Our suggestion that this was not a satisfactory arrangement, and that it would be better for the Academy to act in the fullest measure as a clearing house for all such business, examining the applications, submitting them to the Treasury, and receiving for distribution the sums voted, was approved and indeed welcomed, subject only to the proviso that the bodies concerned should agree to the suggested change. All of them, on being approached, gave their consent; and the position will henceforth be that the Academy bears the responsibility for considering and, if approved, commending to the Treasury all requests for subventions of this kind, and of receiving the grants in a lump sum, for distribution in accordance with the requirements of the applicants. In fact, the British

Academy will now occupy with regard to the societies for humanistic research the position already accorded to the Royal Society in science.

It is understandable that one or two of the bodies concerned should have expressed misgivings about the new arrangement, but I do not think I am being rashly optimistic when I say that there is really no need whatsoever to fear that their needs will receive less sympathetic treatment from the Academy than when they dealt with the Treasury directly. The requests presented last winter, several of them for larger grants necessitated by increased expenses and the reduced value of sterling, were granted in every case except one, where an additional sum asked for was somewhat scaled down for special and understandable reasons. Our own application for an increase in our inadequate grant was favourably received, and though, owing to the circumstances of the time, we did not obtain quite all that we asked for, our grant has been raised to £5,000, double the previous amount. Moreover, it has been agreed that a portion of this sum may be used for the expenses of administration, a very welcome concession in view of the general rise in costs. It has thus become possible to arrange a long-due increase in the salary of our Assistant Secretary; and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the gratitude we feel to Miss Pearson for many years of able and devoted service. We are further enabled to make the engagement of Miss Myers as her assistant a permanent one. With a clerical staff of this calibre we can face without misgiving the increased work which the recent developments will involve.

Even with the new grant the need is still felt to conserve our resources, and the Council has been considering possible economies. To this end it has been decided that the volumes of *Proceedings* issued to Fellows shall in future be bound in cloth, not in half morocco, a change which will mean a substantial reduction in cost. Furthermore, obituaries, which have hitherto been issued separately from time to time, will not henceforward be issued in anticipation of the appropriate volume of the *Proceedings*; but to meet the demand for separate copies an adequate supply of off-prints will in each case be printed, twenty-five of which will go to the author and twenty-five to relatives. Some additional saving will be effected by abandoning the practice of re-paginating papers reprinted from the *Proceedings*; and since it is anticipated that the arrears in the issue of these volumes will soon be overtaken, the constituent papers will not in future be issued separately, in advance of the volume to

which they belong, though provision will be made for author's off-prints and for separate sales.

The new arrangement with the Treasury means that the Academy will now be handling considerably larger sums than in the past and will be confronted with tasks which call for expert knowledge, particularly in the field of archaeology and, in view of the important functions performed in this respect by the British School at Rome in particular, in art also. Plans are being made to secure that this knowledge is fully available. Our responsibilities in the sphere of archaeology have recently been increased in two other directions. The first instalment of the Stein-Arnold bequest was received in the year 1948-9, and a committee was then set up to administer this fund, which will be used for purposes of archaeological exploration in Asia. To this Foundation has been added the Reckitt Archaeological Trust, which is being transferred to the Academy's administration, and another committee has been appointed to deal with it. The annual income from this source is substantial, and there is also an accumulated capital sum. The wide terms of the trust leave us considerable discretion in the disposal of the funds available.

These two benefactions, combined with the new arrangement for the schools and societies assisted by the Treasury, greatly increase the Academy's responsibilities and add to its standing in the field of British archaeology. Experience will show whether our existing machinery is adequate or whether new arrangements ought to be made if we are satisfactorily to perform our functions in this sphere.

I referred last year to the fact that we shall soon be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Academy's foundation. This will occur next year, thus synchronizing with the Festival of Britain. The best method of marking so important an occasion will have to be considered by the Council. Meanwhile I am happy to announce that an invitation sent to the Union Académique Internationale to hold its annual meeting next year in London has been accepted; and the opportunities offered by this event for celebrating our Jubilee are already occupying the attention of the Advisory Committee.

The schemes for enlarging our publishing activities by including in our *Proceedings* or issuing as separate volumes a larger number of articles and treatises other than lectures, and not necessarily by our own Fellows, have borne fruit, and I venture to think that the reproaches levelled by some critics at the Academy on this score will soon lose what relevance they had. I

may refer in particular to Mr. Edgar Lobel's recent edition of a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus containing a fragment of a Greek historical drama, an event of outstanding importance for classical studies, and to a valuable article on Magna Carta by Mr. A. J. Collins which the Academy is proposing to publish. Other notable publications are also in preparation.

I began my Address last year by referring to the retirement from the Secretaryship of Sir Frederic Kenyon and to the hope that we should soon have an opportunity to express in some concrete way our gratitude for his services. It was decided that our tribute should take the form of a portrait. The commission for this was entrusted to Mr. Augustus John, to whom we are much indebted for accepting it and for the pains taken by him to attain a satisfactory result. The admirable pencil portrait which he has produced was presented to Sir Frederic at a luncheon held on the occasion of the Sections Meeting, which was attended by some sixty Fellows. It has been decided to hang it in the principal Lecture Room, on the walls of which it can now be seen. As a further mark of the esteem which we all feel for our late Secretary, and in recognition of the many years of ungrudging and able service devoted by him to the Academy as Fellow, President, Treasurer, and Secretary, the Council proposed, and you have just voted, his election as an Honorary Fellow. I cannot let this occasion pass without a reference to his recent serious illness. I am glad to say that he seems to be making a satisfactory recovery, and I wish him a complete return to normal health and strength. He has found it necessary to resign the Hon. Treasurership and his share in the Secretaryship, but it is typical of his devotion to our interests that he at once agreed when asked to undertake the task of writing the history of the Academy; and it is satisfactory to know that he has made good progress with this.

Dr. Wheeler has thrown himself into the duties of the Secretaryship with the energy and capacity which all who knew him had expected. In pursuance of a previous undertaking to the Government of Pakistan he found it necessary to go out to that country for three and a half months at the beginning of the present year, and Sir Alfred Clapham put us greatly in his debt by undertaking the Secretaryship during his absence.

During the past year five Fellows have died. To Professor S. A. Cook we owe a bequest of £500, the income from which will be available for general purposes. A Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, he was a learned Semitic scholar, who

had done both editorial and original work of high quality. He was a joint editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History* and had been on the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, besides editing for thirty years the Palestine Exploration Fund's journal. This activity did not prevent a prolific output of original and constructive work. At once daring and judicious, open to new ideas but never losing his basic convictions, he combined a personal religious faith with the critical judgement of the true scholar.

The same may be said of Canon Knox, whose acquaintance, like that of Professor Cook, I made during the First World War, when we were all three serving in that outgrowth of the War Office known indifferently as Watergate House or M.I. 7 D. A member of a brilliant and distinguished family, he shared the lively wit and the alert intelligence shown in various spheres by his brothers. His volume of Schweich Lectures, *Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity*, will be in the possession of many of you.

The death of Professor Battiscombe Gunn is a severe blow to Egyptological studies in this country. Egyptologists are never at any time more than a small group, and Gunn belonged to the yet smaller group of Egyptologists who have a marked capacity for minute philological study. It is indeed in the linguistic rather than the archaeological sphere—though in the latter also he was fully qualified—that he will be specially missed. His published output was comparatively small, for he belonged to that class of meticulously accurate scholars, jealously alive to even the smallest minutiae of scholarship, who find it hard to bring any task to a conclusion. But the work he did publish was in consequence of the highest quality; and he rendered great service to the Egypt Exploration Society by acting for several years as editor of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, a task to which he devoted the same conscientious and self-sacrificing labour as to his own undertakings.

Mr. T. W. Allen was a Greek scholar whose name will always be associated with Homeric studies, both as an editor of the text and for his contributions to the elucidation of Homeric problems, as in his work, *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*. He was honourably distinguished among classical scholars by the attention he paid to Greek palaeography, a subject vital as the necessary foundation of any fruitful textual criticism, but far too little studied in Great Britain.

With Professor Basil Williams, unlike the others I have

mentioned, I had no personal acquaintance, and his work lay outside the spheres which have chiefly occupied my attention. He was an outstanding historian, who made important contributions to historical biography, but his life had by no means been spent in the seclusion of the study. He served in the South African War, twice stood (unsuccessfully) as a Liberal candidate for Parliament, and taught in various universities. His most generally acclaimed work was, I believe, his life of Chatham.

I have now to give a hearty welcome to the newly elected Fellows, eight in number, of whom two are assigned to Section II, one to Section IV, one to Section VI, one to Section VII, one to Section IX, and two to Section X.

With this meeting ends my term of office as President, and I should like in conclusion to thank you for the honour done me in my election and successive re-elections, and to wish my successor a happy and prosperous tenure of the office. Sir David Ross, in one of his Presidential Addresses, referred to the Presidency as 'an honour which I esteem the greatest that has ever been bestowed on me or is ever likely to be bestowed'. With how much more justice might I say the same! Indeed, I must confess that my first reaction to the news that I had been nominated was a mixture of incredulity and dismay; and I can only hope that I have not too conspicuously failed to justify the confidence reposed in me. It is true that, as Sir David Ross remarked in the Address from which I have quoted, the duties of the President are not onerous; but the position is certainly a responsible one, and never more so than at the present time. The British Academy is, and the recent enlargement of its functions makes it still more, the central representative and defender of humanistic studies in this country. The things for which it stands, disinterested scholarship, intellectual integrity, and the maintenance of the whole tradition of humane learning built up through centuries of Western civilization, are today in greater peril than they have been for a long time. This is not just the old family quarrel between scientific studies and the 'humanities'. Both alike are threatened by movements which seek to subject science and scholarship, literature and art and music, yes, truth itself and the free activities of the human mind, to the exigencies of some political ideology. Nor is the peril confined to political parties or to Eastern Europe; it is inherent in the whole mental atmosphere of an age which demands quick results and tends to rate utility and practical efficiency above the unfettered exercise of the intellectual and aesthetic faculties; which indeed regards

that as at best a harmless adornment of life, at worst a culpable escapism. Moreover, a perverted interpretation of the democratic ideal too often attempts to measure intellectual and aesthetic values by the standards of the average man. I am not ashamed to avow myself a convinced believer in democracy; but democracy, rightly understood, does not exclude excellence, and to attain excellence in any branch of human activity is given to no more than a minority of men. At such a time it is the duty and the privilege of a body like the Academy to defend and proclaim, undeterred by popular pressure, the integrity of scholarship, the independence of the human spirit, and the maintenance of the highest attainable standards. That is the ideal I have tried to keep before me during my term of office, and I do not doubt that my successor, whose reputation stands too high to need any words of commendation from me, will be no less jealous to maintain it.





ANNUAL ITALIAN LECTURE FOR 1949

ALESSANDRO MANZONI

By A. P. D'ENTRÈVES

Read 25 January 1950

I

WHY is Manzoni so little read, and indeed so little appreciated, in England? The question has been asked many times. It is not one which allows of a simple, straightforward answer. It may well be that the strictures of the *Quarterly Review* on Manzoni's first tragedy marked a bad start from the beginning. It is even more likely that the popularity of a writer whose fame rests mainly on one single novel cannot easily be assured in a country which has contributed more than any other to this particular art. In the eyes of many Englishmen, Alessandro Manzoni is just simply the author of 'another historical novel', and not a very entertaining one at that. Katherine Mansfield found *I Promessi Sposi* definitely boring and could not read it to the end. I am afraid that her view has been shared by several generations of English readers, painfully toiling their way through what has become a standard text for the study of the Italian language.<sup>1</sup>

It is no wonder that, to Italian eyes, Manzoni's importance should appear in a very different perspective. *I Promessi Sposi* is one of the books which, together with the *Divina Commedia*, accompany the life of the great majority of Italians as it were from the cradle to the grave. But, to the educated Italian, Manzoni is not only the author of *quel romanzetto*, of the popular story of Renzo and Lucia. He is one of the great masters, indeed one of the creators, of modern Italian prose. He is one of the most familiar, perhaps one of the most endearing, figures in their new history as a nation. During the recent celebrations of the 1848 centenary, a leading Italian historian<sup>2</sup> pointed out that much of the significance and gist of the *Risorgimento* is missed unless the 'immense moral, and hence also political, importance of Manzoni's message is taken into account'. It is

<sup>1</sup> See note 1 on p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Walter Maturi, *L'aspetto religioso del 1848 e la storiografia italiana* (Convegno di Scienze Morali Storiche e Filologiche, 4-10 Ottobre 1948. Roma, Accademia dei Lincei, 1949).

that message, he added, 'which revealed in its purest form the religious and patriotic soul of the *Risorgimento*'. Thus Manzoni's greatness, like that of the towering peaks which girdle his native land, is being steadily increased by distance. In the garish pageant of nineteenth-century Italy he may seem at first sight to cut a modest, almost elusive figure. But few among the writers of the period have more revealing words to say for the knowledge of their age and their country than has the author of *I Promessi Sposi*.

This may well appear a somewhat unorthodox approach to a writer whose first and foremost claim to posterity is, of course, his achievement as an artist. But, it has been said, Manzoni, like Dante, was not only a poet. This sounds like a truism; and yet the modern critic sometimes tends to forget that both Manzoni and Dante were great artists just because they were so much else besides. As it was to Dante, artistic creation was to Manzoni the final outcome of a complete mastery achieved over his own inner world. It was also the outcome of a complete mastery of his means of expression, resting upon a background of endless self-criticism and research. This is what gives Manzoni's work an importance which is in its way unique in modern Italian literature. For indeed, and not unlike Dante again, Manzoni takes us right back to the beginning, to that problem of language which is ever present to the Italian but which he, as a north Italian, was bound to experience as particularly acute. In a letter to his friend and adviser Fauriel, the French critic to whom more than to anyone else Manzoni owed his European formation, he contrasted with bitterness the certainty and precision of French with the fabulous improbabilities of Italian. The letter was written only a few months after Manzoni had started writing his novel. Fifty years later he still remembered his qualms, and what it meant not to possess 'una lingua vera da adoperare'.<sup>1</sup> It was the same problem that had beset the Piedmontese Alfieri some decades earlier. It was the travail from which modern Italian was born.

A recent and subtle critic<sup>2</sup> has said that the whole of Manzoni's work can be read as a kind of modern *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. This, if I interpret the words correctly, really means that in order fully to appreciate Manzoni's impact on Italian litera-

<sup>1</sup> 'a true language at one's disposal' (Letter to Casanova, 30 March 1871; cp. Letter to Fauriel, 3 Nov. 1821).

<sup>2</sup> Professor Carlo Dionisotti in his Inaugural Lecture at Bedford College, London, on 22 Nov. 1949.

ture we must not only remember his life-long concern with purity of language, with 'washing his linen in Arno', as he used to say. The reason for Manzoni's importance should not be sought only in his hair-splitting discussion of the linguistic problem, but in the startling, almost revolutionary, novelty of his direct and transparent style. For centuries life and letters had been divorced in Italy. A literary language had been evolved which was learned, often stilted, and destined to please, with its conventional imagery, the taste of an educated but limited audience. Parini and Foscolo had, of late, skilfully adapted that language to meet new requirements. They had, indeed, brought it to a height of perfection hitherto unattained. But Manzoni set forth to address his reader, as Dante had done in the beginning, in a *modus loquendi remissus et humilis*; his ambition was to express himself in that *locutio vulgaris in qua et muliercule comunicant*. His deliberate rejection of the classical garb, his quest for a new and simpler form of expression were justified and fostered by the tenets of Romanticism which he had gladly and readily embraced. But they were much more than a mere homage to fashion. Manzoni's notion of art as destined not for the few but for all was the outcome of a deep-seated moral conviction.

It is this moral conviction which, as I have said, modern historians underline as a decisive factor in nineteenth century Italy. Surely this must not be taken to mean that we should approach the author of *I Promessi Sposi* primarily as a political or a patriotic writer. Carducci, it may be remembered, strongly resented the attempt to present Manzoni as the poet and prophet of united Italy. Actually Manzoni's patriotic verses are not the strongest nor the most important side of his whole production. His name is not among those of the leaders, nor even of the direct inspirers, of the movement for Italian independence. Politics, active politics, were essentially alien to Manzoni's temperament. During his long, quiet life, which spans well over three-quarters of a century, there are only a few recorded instances of his intervention in Italian political affairs. They are all related to great crucial issues: 1814, 1848, 1861; but they convey the impression of a man acting out of conviction and stern devotion to duty, rather than carried away by emotions or indulging in ambitious calculations. Whenever pressed for a more active participation in things Italian he invariably replied that his reason for avoiding it was his invincible shyness and his inability to come to grips with reality: an attitude which, to say the least, showed a modesty uncommon among Italian *literati*.

Why then this insistence on the political value of Manzoni's message, on the capital role played by his work in the rebirth of Italy? An answer is already implicit in what I have said of the extraordinary novelty, in a country like Italy, of Manzoni's conception of the task and mission of the writer. It was an unheard-of doctrine in Italy that literature should be brought as it were into the heart and home of the common people. The success of Manzoni's novel, from its first appearance in 1827, was an unprecedented event in the history of Italian publishing. But Manzoni's appeal to his contemporaries was not only due to his language and to his style. It was due to the very source of his inspiration. It was the essence of the romantic doctrine, he believed, that 'poetry' should extend and intensify its influence by choosing subjects 'which for the greatest number of readers present a quality of attraction and interest deriving from the memories and the daily impressions of life'.<sup>1</sup> He shared with his generation the taste, and indeed the cult of history; and what more potent source of inspiration than the history of Italy, the one which was on record and the one which he saw developing before his eyes? Long before the Romantics had started exploring the past in their quest for artistic emotions, he had witnessed the impact of great historical events upon his own country and people. He had discovered in Vico the 'general principles of the common destiny of nations' and the ever-present menace of 'recurrent barbarism'.<sup>2</sup> He had ripened, in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Paris, his knowledge and appreciation of the ideological conflicts which opposed the old world and the new. Few Italian writers had ever looked at the Italian scene with a more European outlook than the young Manzoni. Few were better prepared to speak to their fellow countrymen and in their name, in a truly modern language.

A remarkable characteristic in the development of Manzoni's art is the parallel growth of his insight and participation in the fate of his people and his close and realistic approach to the humblest aspects of Italian life. This, I think, is what Carducci overlooked when he tried to deny or to minimize the novelty and value of Manzoni's patriotic message. Carducci was right in pointing out that, from Petrarch onwards, the greatness and sorrows of Italy had been a perennial source of inspiration to Italian poets. But there is a subtle difference of tone between

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Marchese Cesare d'Azeglio (*Sul Romanticismo*), 1823.

<sup>2</sup> *Adelchi*, *Notizie Storiche*; *Discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobardica in Italia*, ch. ii.

the traditional, essentially academic invocation to Italy which recurs in Italian literature from Petrarch to Leopardi, and the *cara Italia!* of Manzoni, with its affectionate, almost intimate ring. Italy was certainly not to Manzoni the *Laura annosa* which Italian verse-makers had platonically wooed century after century. It was the truly *umile Italia*, not an abstract personification but a living reality, a people oppressed by the very greatness of its history, men and women carried away like leaves in the storm and yet surviving with their ancient heritage of wisdom and kindness. Shortly before Manzoni, another writer had noticed that peculiar resilience of the Italians which has surprised many foreign observers even in recent days. In Italy, wrote Alfieri, 'men, considered merely as plants, grow more vigorously than elsewhere. On the same soil plants keep growing the same, notwithstanding the evil gardener.'

But Alfieri's words, which struck Byron so deeply, must surely not be taken to reflect the attitude of Manzoni to his country and to his fellow countrymen. He was too good a European to indulge in any idea of national superiority. He never tired of pointing out how much he himself and Italy owed to other countries, and particularly to France. Alfieri's doctrine of pride and of hatred was deeply obnoxious to him, and he went out of his way to condemn it. Nor was it so much the physical or the moral qualities of the Italians that fascinated him, nor their endless story of defeat and rebirth. The racialist theory, which was somehow foreshadowed in the writings of Augustin Thierry—one of Manzoni's authorities—could not provide him with an interpretation of history after his own heart. For one thing, it did not explain why in the end the vanquished had conquered and the oppressed had proved stronger than the oppressors. The iron law of politics was clearly bound and annulled by a higher law. The fate of a nation could only have a meaning in so far as it reflected a truth which every man could experience and test in his own inner self. Manzoni's passionate love for his country and people was overshadowed by a stronger motif, his Christian interpretation of life. The ultimate, the real source of Manzoni's inspiration was neither historical nor patriotic, but religious.

To speak of Manzoni's religion is to open up a chapter little known outside Italy, in the history of the Catholic revival of the early nineteenth century. Yet Manzoni may well rank among the *grands convertis* of the romantic age, although it would probably be more correct to call his a reconciliation rather than a conversion.

Born and educated a Catholic, he had in fact, like many Italians, gradually stepped over from religious indifference to open and militant disbelief. In returning to the fold of the Church he followed the path of many of his contemporaries. But his views are not always easy to square with those of his coreligionists or even with those of the Roman Church itself during that period. A touch of Jansenist austerity singles him out against the easy-going attitude to religion of many of his fellow countrymen. In later days, when the conflict between Church and State opened a tragic rift among Italian Catholics, Manzoni never concealed his liberal and democratic leanings and his attachment to the Italian cause. One can easily understand why Manzoni's religion has of late been the object of much discussion among Italian historians. It has been suggested that Manzoni's Catholicism is a somewhat doubtful case.

This difficult question can hardly be discussed within the compass of a lecture. It is further obscured by Manzoni's own reticence. Unlike many other sensational converts, he constantly avoided speaking of his most secret experience, and indeed of himself. Personally, I am inclined to think that the controversy which has flared up in Italy on the subject of Manzoni's religion has not always been dispassionate, and that it is equally unfair to describe him either as a bigoted Catholic or as a heretic *malgré lui*. The fact remains that, notwithstanding his reticence, Manzoni always proclaimed his unreserved adherence to the teaching of the Church, which in turn never questioned his orthodoxy. Yet, on the other hand, his work is inspired throughout by the great ideals which the age of enlightenment implanted in the heart of nineteenth-century Europe. It is an indictment of abuses and superstition, a plea for an interpretation of Christianity which, at least in those days, could well appear obnoxious and subversive to the more reactionary faction both in Church and in State. Perhaps the best way to appreciate Manzoni's position is to consider it in the climate of that liberal Catholicism which was a potent leaven of progress in Roman Catholic countries during the last century. But it is even more important to remember that, a truly religious spirit, Manzoni succeeded in transposing his own problems far beyond the horizon of his age and his country, far above the petty niceties of political or dogmatic controversy. This alone could make his plea so eloquent and his standpoint so firm. Those who have ventured to challenge the genuineness of Manzoni's Catholicism seem to me to ignore that even to a pious and devout churchman there may

be many mansions in the House of the Father. But they also overlook the ancient wisdom of Rome in combining intransigence on principles with a considerable latitude on what Manzoni himself called 'particular opinions'. It is for all these reasons that Manzoni's religion is of such importance for the understanding of Italian spiritual life not only in his but even in later days. If anything the case of Manzoni, like that of his great friend and confidant Rosmini and many others, stands to prove that not all was obscurantism in the Catholic camp during the great crisis of the *Risorgimento*.

On principles, at any rate, Manzoni never faltered. Whatever part Jansenist influences may have played in his return to the faith, no really convincing evidence of Jansenism has ever been traced in his work, except of course that passionate earnestness, that unrelenting urge for sincerity, which link him directly to Pascal. However strong his liberal sympathies, which made him in his youth a severe critic of 'confessionalism' and in later days a convinced opponent of the temporal power, Manzoni, unlike Acton, never shared the unbounded optimism of the Whig creed. Last, but not least, Manzoni was singularly immune, as we know, from that sin of national pride in which so many among the Italian patriots—not excluding the Catholics—indulged during the *Risorgimento*. It is no doubt possible to trace back to his works some of the ideas which were popularized by the so-called neo-Guelph school in the attempt to reconcile religion and patriotism. Manzoni was among the first to indicate to his fellow countrymen the benefits which they had derived from the presence of the Papacy in Italy.<sup>1</sup> He had, in his controversy with the Protestant Sismondi, endeavoured to refute the accusation that Catholicism was the cause of Italian corruption—a restatement of Machiavelli's famous indictment of the Roman Church, which re-echoes all through the *Risorgimento*. But he had also made it absolutely clear that his aim was to defend the Catholic religion, not the religion of the Italians. It is this, above all, that makes Manzoni so pre-eminently a Catholic writer, and renders his voice strangely familiar to some, but distant and alien to others.

I am not surprised that Manzoni's Catholicism should be a stumbling-block to many foreign readers. It is not a question of trifling, almost trivial detail. The first English translator of *I Promessi Sposi*, the Reverend Charles Swan, felt it necessary to tell his readers that he would have liked to see in the novel 'the

<sup>1</sup> *Discorso sopra alcuni punti della storia longobardica in Italia*, ch. v.



name of CHRIST substituted for the Virgin Mary'; but, he added apologetically, 'the persons of the drama were Catholics'. He also expressed the wish 'that the Author, in his dénouement of the story, had not rested for dispensation of Lucia's vow on the authority of the Church, rather than on what God, and conscience, and reason require. . . .' Here at least he came nearer the point and had found a better reason for quarrel.

Another and more recent English reader has pointed out that it is the idea of submission to authority which provides the pivot and at the same time the tension of Manzoni's fiction. It is quite clear that the corporate life of the Church had a powerful appeal for Manzoni. Religion he could not conceive as a purely individual concern: one would be tempted to guess that the first, original spring of his conversion was 'the need of communing with other men in the spirit'. No wonder therefore that his poetry, as a contemporary critic remarks, is never so great as when it widens up in the broad, solemn accents of a *chorale*. But the Church was not only to Manzoni the channel of Grace, the vessel of Salvation, the earthly reflection of the Heavenly City. It was also the expression of the deep, almost primæval solidarity which links man to man and which indeed is the first step toward Redemption. Much has been written of late about Manzoni's predilection for 'the meek'. But not enough attention has been paid, so far as I know, to the fact that meekness is somehow to Manzoni the highest, the ultimate religious value: meekness not in a Tolstoian and as it were anarchical sense, but, again, in the essentially Catholic meaning of a recognition that man is not strong enough to do without the help and fellowship of other men and without the guidance of God's divinely appointed representatives. Hence that feeling of all-pervading remission and pardon which transpires from Manzoni's handling of characters: I am strongly inclined to believe that, with all his austerity and rigour, Manzoni never really made up his mind as to the certainty of any of them deserving eternal damnation. The image of the Redeemer which is conveyed by his art is that of the Crucifix with wide-open arms, not that of the Jansenist Christ with His hands narrowly uplifted.

I leave it to better judges than I am to decide how much of the attitude which I have described is peculiar to Roman Catholicism, and how much is simply and without qualification Christian. The prestige of tradition, the certainty of dogma, the 'beauty of holiness'—these are the motives which readily occur to the mind whenever we think of the Catholic

revival of the early nineteenth century. But none of these explanations really fits Manzoni's case, and it is essential to remember how deeply his notion of religion diverged from the several brands of Catholicism which were current in the years that immediately preceded his conversion. There is no trace of the bleak, messianic mysticism of De Maistre; even less of that 'aesthetic' appreciation of religion for which Chateaubriand had set the fashion. Pascal, as I have already said, is the real key to Manzoni's religious experience: Pascal, and the 'great Catholic moralists' of seventeenth-century France, whom Manzoni had thoroughly studied and whom he reverently admired. From them, much more than from the Romantics, he derived his ambition of construing an ideal *traité de l'homme*, or, as he put it more modestly, of attaining some knowledge of 'quel guazzabuglio del cuore umano'.<sup>1</sup> From them, more especially, he derived his conviction that Christianity is the only possible explanation of human nature, that it is the Christian religion 'which has revealed man to man'.<sup>2</sup> Manzoni's faith is essentially a moral certitude: it is this that makes it so remarkably modern. I have already mentioned Dante's name more than once in the course of this lecture. I have indeed used that great name only too often as a term of reference for what I was anxious to say about Manzoni. It is high time that I should stress once for all what divides Dante from Manzoni, as it divides the medieval from the modern man. It is, if I may say so, the difference between the extrovert and the introvert, the difference between the quest for God in the glory of Creation and the quest for God in the depths of the heart. For Manzoni, as for Pascal, the harmony of the celestial spheres has given place to an eternal silence. But it is in the 'tremendous solitude' of that silence, better than anywhere else, that man, if he only cares to listen, can hear the warning and consoling voice: 'tu ne me chercherais pas si tu ne m'avais trouvé'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'that tangle of the human heart'.

<sup>2</sup> *Osservazioni sulla Morale Cattolica*, Al Lettore.

<sup>3</sup> The following passages from *I Promessi Sposi*, relating to the central episode of the conversion of the 'Unnamed', provide the necessary illustration of the above:

(*Chapter xx*) '... l'essere uscito dalla turba volgare de' malvagi, l'essere innanzi a tutti, gli dava talvolta il sentimento d'una solitudine tremenda. Quel Dio di cui aveva sentito parlare, ma che, da gran tempo, non si curava di negare nè di riconoscere, occupato soltanto a vivere come se non ci fosse, ora, in certi momenti d'abbattimento senza motivo, di terrore senza pericolo, gli pareva sentirlo gridar dentro di sé: *Io sono però*.'

[*contd.* p. 32]

## II

I have dwelt at length on problems of language, of nationality, of religion. I shall devote the second part of this lecture to the more enjoyable part of my subject, to the discussion of Manzoni's art.

To begin with, I think that I must go back to my initial remark that Manzoni's fame rests mainly on his one, single novel. None of Manzoni's other works can compete with *I Promessi Sposi* in perfection of style, in completeness of touch and of treatment. There are not many cases in the history of letters of an author producing a great work of art in his forties, spending the next fifteen years in refurbishing it, and surviving till well over eighty without ever achieving nor even attempting a masterpiece again. Yet this was the case with Manzoni, and the lesson to the critic can only be that the novel represents the climax of Manzoni's art and at the same time as it were its exhaustion. The climax: this means that we must consider the preceding works as experiments. It does not mean that they are entirely devoid of artistic value in themselves.

The brilliant son of a distinguished Lombard family (he was born in Milan in 1785), Manzoni had started writing very young. His poems, classical in style and inspiration, had marked him out as a promising youth among his friends in Italy and in Paris, where he resided many years. But in 1809, soon after he had married, he rejected almost with disgust all that he had written so far. The storm had broken out that was to come to a standstill only in the unrippled calm of *I Promessi Sposi*. A number of 'Sacred Hymns', celebrating the festivities of the Church; two tragedies in the romantic garb, *Carmagnola* and *Adelchi*; an apologetical work in defence of 'Catholic Morals'; a few patriotic poems and the 'Ode on the death of Napoleon' (*Il Cinque Maggio*): this is all that remains of Manzoni's years of apprenticeship. It was, however, enough to establish a European reputation long before the last instalment of the novel was finally released in 1827. Manzoni's 'Ode on Napoleon' swept

(*Chapter xxiii*) "Dio! Dio! Dio! Se lo vedessi! Se lo sentissi! Dov'è questo Dio?"

"Voi me lo domandate? voi? E chi più di voi l'ha vicino? Non ve lo sentite in cuore, che v'opprime, che v'agita, che non vi lascia stare, e nello stesso tempo v'attira, vi fa presentire una speranza di quiete, di consolazione, d'una consolazione che sarà piena, immensa, subito che voi lo riconosciate, lo confessiate, l'implorate?"

Europe. His tragedies, together with some short theoretical writings in defence of Romanticism, were almost immediately translated into French. English reviewers were divided. Goethe took up arms in his praise.

It is the subtle temptation of modern methods of criticism to focus attention on detail when it is difficult, if not impossible, to appraise a work in its entirety. But in the case of Manzoni's minor productions there is really no other method left. A number of almost perfect gems will make an admirable anthology. But the masterpiece is still in abeyance. The tragedies as such are far from convincing. Notwithstanding the break with the fetters of the 'unities', they fail to realize that powerful interplay of characters, that 'progress of events and emotions', which Manzoni admired so much in Shakespeare.<sup>1</sup> The same negative judgement applies to the *Inni Sacri*. The attempt at re-creating in modern settings the solemn beauties of the Liturgy smacks of devotionism and barely avoids the worst taste of post-Tridentine art. And, finally, the prose of the *Morale Cattolica* falls short of the great French models which its author set out to emulate.

Yet, when all this is said, we feel that we have not done full justice to Manzoni's early works. For one thing, a purely negative judgement can hardly apply to the last of the Hymns, the *Pentecoste*, nor to the tragedy *Adelchi*, which were both finished after *I Promessi Sposi* was already begun. Many critics have not hesitated to extol them as revealing Manzoni's art at its best. Nor can we so easily overlook the opinion of Manzoni's contemporaries. To them, as De Sanctis remarked, his poems and tragedies were the revelation of an entirely new world. To the modern reader, acquaintance with these works sets a strange chord vibrating. It will long echo in our memory and heart. Manzoni's epic may leave us cold or indifferent. His piety may seem edulcorated, his pleading over-emphatic at times. But all the motifs are there already which were soon to combine in the great symphony of *I Promessi Sposi*.

I have discussed these motifs in detail. I feel that I can dispense with reviewing them again. But what about that particular theme which is conventionally recognized as the main inspiration of poets: what about the theme of love? That Manzoni should have been singularly reluctant to admit it as the source of his art is certainly not surprising. It was one of his famous remarks that of love there was quite enough in the world without talking about it. In the first draft of the novel he

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 on p. 45.

declared his intention of omitting all description of amorous passions, for he had the memory of Racine's remorse always in mind. It was not only the Jansenist who spoke in these words. It was Manzoni's own way of brushing aside that aspect of love which he considered deceitful and wanton. But there remained room enough for love of a different kind. Love is indeed ever-present in Manzoni's art: but it is a kind of love which is more like a quality of the soul than an inclination; a feeling so chaste and so pure that it can hardly bear expression, or is better expressed in a glance, in a smile, than in long and pathetic descriptions.

Spira de' nostri bamboli  
nell' ineffabil riso;  
spargi la casta porpora  
alle donzelle in viso;  
manda alle ascose vergini  
le pure gioie ascose;  
consacra delle spose  
il verecondo amor.<sup>1</sup>

The lines are from *La Pentecoste*, the great hymn that celebrates the overpowering might of the Spirit of Love. They are indicative even in the choice of nouns and adjectives. The innocence of childhood, the shyness of adolescence, the sacredness of virginity, the fidelity of life-long attachments: these are not the subjects which are commonly associated with love. Manzoni's love-themes have all the freshness and candour of a newly discovered world, or perhaps of a world long forgotten.

*Adelchi* introduces us more intimately to Manzoni's conception of womanhood. But the figure of Ermengarda, the proud Lombard princess whom Charlemagne has repudiated, plays only a secondary part in the tragedy. The real protagonists are the great forces of history. The subject of the play is the iron law that rules the world, the tragic fate of the vanquished. Ermengarda, redeemed by her sufferings, testifies to the existence

<sup>1</sup> Breathe, Spirit, in the ineffable  
sweet smile of every child;  
with blushes chaste besprinkle  
the cheeks of maidens mild;  
send to the cloister'd virgins  
those joys too pure for seeing;  
and visit with thy blessing  
the young brides' timid love.

(*La Pentecoste*, str. 17; trs. by R. J. O. Rees.)

of a higher law, which reconciles the oppressed and the oppressor. Her death inspires one of Manzoni's finest poetical achievements, the Chorus in the fourth act of the tragedy. It is only at the approach of death that the motif of love makes its fugitive appearance. It is only in a state of hallucination that the betrayed reveals the fullness of her love.

. . . . . Amor tremendo è il mio.  
 Tu nol conosci ancora; oh! tutto ancora  
 non tel mostrai: tu eri mio: sicura  
 nel mio gaudio io tacea; nè tutta mai  
 questo labbro pudico osato avria  
 dirti l'ebbrezza del mio cor segreta.<sup>1</sup>

Manzoni inscribed on the front page of *Adelchi* the name of his wife, Henriette Blondel, whom he loved most dearly. She was a Calvinist by birth. Her conversion and piety played a deep and mysterious part in Manzoni's life. In his dedication he said of her that she had succeeded in welding together a 'virginal soul' with the 'affection of a wife' and the 'wisdom of a mother'. It was the highest tribute that Manzoni ever paid to a woman. It is perhaps the most revealing phrase he wrote on his notion of love. It is not the kind of love that usually inspires poets. Unlike courtly love it is eminently uxorious. Unlike romantic love, it is essentially secretive and restrained. True love, Manzoni believed, begets modesty and coyness. It was the secret of his art to show how the wild streams of passion can gather into a vast tranquil pool where the sky is reflected. But in reading Manzoni let us never forget that still waters run deep and that terrific tensions may lie concealed behind the calm detachment of his narrative. *I Promessi Sposi* is the tale of a candid affection outliving all sorts of difficulties and perils. It is much more and much else than a plain simple story with a happy ending.

When Manzoni sat down to write an historical novel, historical novels were the fashion of the day. The genre had been popularized in Europe by the unprecedented success of Sir Walter Scott's novels. There are many reasons which made it

<sup>1</sup> . . . A fearful thing's my love.  
 As yet thou know'st it not; as yet entire  
 I showed it not to thee: for thou wert mine:  
 safe in my joy I spoke no word of it;  
 nor could these modest lips have ever told  
 the full enchantment of my secret heart.

(*Adelchi*, Act IV, sc. i; trs. by R. J. O. Rees.)

particularly palatable to romantic taste. The historical novel marked a turning-point in French literature. In Italy it amounted to the introduction of a type of composition which was almost entirely foreign and new. The novelty was not, as in France, the *roman historique*; it was the novel—*il romanzo*—as such. In the *Sposi Promessi*, the first version of the novel written between 1821 and 1823, Manzoni had foreseen the objections which defenders of tradition would raise against his writing a novel in Italian. This kind of writing was conspicuously absent in Italian letters. Let the Italians rejoice, if they liked—said Manzoni—in the fact of having no novels or only very few: it was not after all the only negative glory of Italian literature! When the news percolated that the author of the *Inni Sacri* was embarking on a novel it caused surprise and dismay: but then the prejudice must have been strong not only in Italy if, as Lord David Cecil assures us, even in England the novel was still regarded as light and frivolous literature well down into Victorian times. No wonder that, in choosing to write one, Manzoni had to meet particularly heavy odds, both as a novelist and as an Italian.

The question of the historical novel raises the question of Manzoni's subservience to the genre and of his debt to Sir Walter Scott.<sup>1</sup> Manzoni's debt to Scott's novels, as indeed the debt of most continental novelists of the early nineteenth century, is great and undeniable. But surely what matters for the correct appreciation of Manzoni's art is not so much his indebtedness to the genre as his handling of it. His originality, if any, will lie in the differentiation, not in the affinity. That Manzoni was aware as well as determined to diverge from the trodden path can be proved on his own evidence. 'J'ose me flatter', he wrote to Fauriel shortly after having begun the novel, 'd'éviter le reproche d'imitation'; and he emphasized that, in basing his observations directly on men's conduct, and in refusing to make concessions to 'l'esprit romanesque', he hoped to do something different from 'les autres'.<sup>2</sup> That he would succeed in doing so could of course only be proved by his results. In the end *I Promessi Sposi* turned out to have probably as much of the *roman psychologique* as of the historical novel. But there is one point on which Manzoni cut himself away sharply and from the start from other contemporary novelists.

Manzoni's purpose was not only to write an entertaining

<sup>1</sup> See note 3 on p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to Fauriel, 29 May 1822.

story or to please an audience by paying special regard to its taste. The *captatio benevolentiae* at the end of the last chapter of the novel must not deceive us. It is Manzoni's own way of soft-peddalling his tones and of taking leave with a smile and almost furtively. He uses the same trick at the beginning of the novel, where, pretending in the fashion of Scott to have found his plot in an old forgotten manuscript, he makes fun of the picaresque elements which it abundantly contains. He had his good reasons for fearing the danger of being over-emphatic. The more serious the lesson, the more, he felt, it had to be got down in a plain, direct fashion. It is quite clear that his purpose was not to please but to edify his audience. He well remembered that Port-Royal had denounced all profane writers as possible *empoisonneurs publics*.<sup>1</sup> He would not be one of them. His choice of the novel was determined by a clear and definite aim. The 'modern equivalent of the epic' could provide an admirable instrument for setting forth the convictions which had ripened in his long years of apprenticeship. By the miracle of art the moral world which he had discovered was going to come to life in flesh and blood, and for ever.

We are thus brought straight to the question which is most hotly debated among the Italian critics of today. The question was broached not many years ago by Benedetto Croce. According to him, *I Promessi Sposi* should not be judged as a work of art, but rather as a great work of 'oratory', by which he means persuasion. So indeed it is, though not perhaps in the sense which Croce intended. Croce's attitude to Manzoni is clearly influenced by his scant sympathy for Manzoni's religion as well as by his own philosophical preconceptions. That there might be such a thing as 'pure art' is a question not only for Italian philosophers! But if the fact of pleading a cause with sustained and never faltering conviction is a reason for calling *I Promessi Sposi* 'oratorical', let us call it so by all means, and let us not hesitate to admit that Manzoni's art is not 'pure' since it is never an end in itself and is laden with a moral purpose. Why should the modern critic refuse to judge Manzoni by the standard by which alone he would have liked to be judged? Surely the older critics were nearer the point when they found in the book not only entertainment but comfort. Sismondi, who said that *I Promessi Sposi* was 'une bonne action', put the judgement in a form which must have been particularly pleasing to its author as coming from a staunch Protestant and a former opponent. It

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Abate E. Degola, 15 May 1825.



is gratifying to find that good deeds can sometimes be done well and that pious intentions are not always conducive to boredom. Far from falling apart, under the strictures of modern 'aestheticism', into a number of 'anthology pieces', *I Promessi Sposi* stands together in a constant strain of inspiration, in a closely knit sequence from which it is impossible to detach even the most famous scenes (including, I believe, the historical details which Goethe blamed as excessive) without blurring their crystalline clarity and destroying their mysterious enchantment.

Certainly, as an historical novel, Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* is reeking with bias from beginning to end. The very choice of the period and setting—Lombardy under Spanish rule in the seventeenth century—was a clear indication of Manzoni's prepossessions. It was the darkest age in modern Italian history, when the evils of foreign domination and of internal anarchy had reached a climax: it therefore allowed for a full orchestration of the theme of the oppressor and the oppressed. It was an age of great historical commotions: plague, famine, and war, the scourges against which the Litany of the Church cries out to God for protection. It was above all an age of fantastic unreason: that 'baroque' age which to the rationalist and liberal Manzoni could not but appear incredibly sordid, ridiculous, and vain. It has been maintained that Manzoni's conception of history is vitiated by his untiring search after human responsibility. The answer is that the notion of human responsibility is precisely what gives history a meaning in Manzoni's eyes. The spectacle of human errors and follies seems to provide him with an inexhaustible storehouse of merriment, but also of despair. But it is of course especially in the treatment of characters that Manzoni could give full rein to his moralizing intentions. With what penetrating insight he explores the remotest corners of the heart! with what ruthless clearness he exposes the most hidden motives of conduct! but with what exultancy also he celebrates the greatness of self-sacrifice and the final triumph of Providence: *deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles!* Yes, Manzoni the moralist may well overshadow Manzoni the artist. He is not the man to carry us away into the land where 'tout n'est qu'ordre et beauté' without adding his little lecture about the perils of the voyage. Yet how is it that, after we have listened to the lecture, we are left with a number of recollections which are not of an exclusively moral quality? How is it that such alluring perspectives have been opened into a land which is visual, sensuous, as well as radiant with beauty? Is it not the slides

which the lecturer has shown us that have revealed us that land, which will make us for ever nostalgic?

I do not think that Manzoni would have taken offence at my comparing his book to a magic lantern. With his proverbial modesty he used to describe it as a *cantafavola*, a kind of old wives' tale. He also compared it to a charity ball, for he had a fine sense of humour. What else than pure magic is Manzoni's art of creating that potent illusion of life, that convincing reality of character in which we are caught from the first page of *I Promessi Sposi* to the last? Lucia and Gertrude, Renzo and Rodrigo, Cristoforo, Federigo, the Unnamed, and the unforgettable Abbondio—the innocent and the guilty, the apostle and the penitent, the hero of charity and the comic little weakling to whom 'il dono di coraggio' has been refused: surely they are more than mere symbols of virtue and of vice, they are indeed not types but individuals, in that they strictly abide by their own character and personality, and move about with just that measure of freedom which is permitted in a world in which we are all 'attachés au trône de l'Être suprême par une chaîne souple, qui nous retient sans nous asservir'.

If the measure of the artist is his knowledge of limits, that knowledge Manzoni possessed to a supreme degree. It is that knowledge which makes him, the Romantic, a pre-eminently classical writer. It is that knowledge which saves him, the moralist, from indulging in that oratorical vein which he certainly possessed, but which it is ludicrously improper to call the essential tone of the novel. Over-emphasis he successfully avoids: he is never rhetorical. He had a gift for understatement which is rare in Italians; and he was a past master in the art of bringing about anti-climaxes. He had, above all, a sense of humour which is entirely his own and which should endear him to the British. Personally I am not sure whether, if the moralist at times overshadows the artist, it is not the humorist who suggests the right word on more than one occasion.

But perhaps Manzoni's sense of humour is nothing else than a truly Italian sense of space and proportion. For Italy, or rather north Italy, is ever-present in the *Promessi Sposi*, with her green hills, her gushing streams, her placid avenues—and that wide-open sky encompassing all: 'quel cielo di Lombardia, così bello quand'è bello, così splendido, così in pace'.<sup>1</sup> In that setting of Virgilian serenity a gentle, decorous, slightly over-civilized

<sup>1</sup> 'that sky of Lombardy, which is so fair when it is fair, so bright, so peaceful.'

people move about. When the author allows us to catch a glimpse of their features, it is their poise and mellowness that strike us. They recall to our mind the art of the great north Italian masters: 'quella bellezza molle a un tempo e maestosa, che brilla nel sangue lombardo'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the bearing and demeanour of these people, the way in which they group and disperse, even remind us at times of Italian opera at its best. The whole picture is bathed in a soft, even light, which is the poignant atmosphere of the novel. No one perhaps has ever penetrated this secret correspondence between the physical and the moral beauty of Manzoni's world better than Goethe: 'Manzonis innere Bildung erscheint hier auf einer solchen Höhe, dass ihm schwerlich etwas gleichkommen kann; sie beglückt uns als eine durchaus reife Frucht. Und eine Klarheit der Behandlung und Darstellung des Einzelnen wie der italienische Himmel selber!'<sup>2</sup>

Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* is a final achievement: how often can this judgement be heard from Italians, and how tedious it must sound to foreign ears! Yet I fancy that there is no way for me to avoid it, were it only as a statement of fact. The loneliness of Manzoni's experiment cannot but puzzle the student when he compares the meagre developments of the Italian novel during the nineteenth century with the rich crop which other European countries produced. The heritage of *I Promessi Sposi* weighed heavily upon Italy. It weighed even more heavily upon Manzoni himself. It is difficult to imagine a harder lot for a writer than that of surviving his own work, to be left as it were to become his own critic, trying his hand again and again, and with little success, at those problems which he had scanned rapidly and easily in the first sudden urge of creation. There is little in Manzoni's later production to detain us: not his endless theorizing about language, nor his unfinished historical essays, nor his brief explorations in the field of literary and philosophical criticism. Not that these works have no interest, or that they are not essential for a complete knowledge of Manzoni's complex personality. But of that world which is sealed for ever in the exquisite prose of *I Promessi Sposi* only a few spangles glitter

<sup>1</sup> 'that type of beauty, both mellow and opulent, that shines forth in the Lombard blood.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Manzoni's cultivation of mind appears here so high, that scarcely anything can approach him. It satisfies us like a perfectly ripe fruit. And what clearness in the treatment and representation of detail! like the Italian sky itself.' (Goethe to Eckermann, 18 July 1827.)

here and there: some perfect lines of religious poetry, some unforgettable remarks on characters and men.

There is no need to resort to psychological or even pathological explanations to account for Manzoni's sterility, for that ominous silence which drove his friends and admirers to despair. The explanation should not be too remote to anyone who has penetrated the nature of Manzoni's world. That world is not, like that of Shakespeare or of the Victorian novelists, a world teeming and surging with inner vitality, bursting as it were into the very hands that create it. It is a world which cannot renew and reshape itself according to ever-changing patterns. It is a world that is moulded once and for ever, with the final irrevocability of truth.

Giovita Scalvini, one of the earliest, and one of the most intelligent, critics of Manzoni, said that *I Promessi Sposi*, like the *Divina Commedia*, was an allegory: and perhaps, if we keep this in mind, we may understand why, like Dante's, Manzoni's experiment could not be repeated. A man who has a message to give to his fellow men can have little more to say once he has acquitted himself of that message. Indeed, it was probably Dante who, in the end, was the luckier of the two. We can hardly imagine him writing one single line after the final cantos of *Paradiso*. . . . But death was long to come to the writer who had once described himself as 'un uomo terribilmente visitato da Dio'.<sup>1</sup> The cup of success must have tasted bitter to him who had praised humility as the highest of all virtues. The bourgeois respectability of Manzoni's long life was saddened by adversity and renunciation. He became an almost legendary figure. He still is to many of his readers an object of veneration rather than of love. It may well seem ambitious to try and explain the secret of Manzoni. Perhaps an initial sympathy is the condition for a full understanding of his message. But love and understanding never failed him among the Italians. Verdi once said that he would have liked to kneel down before Manzoni. He dedicated one of his masterpieces to the memory of that truly great man. There is a kind of family likeness between the composer and the writer. They both had deep roots in the soil of their country. They shared the same belief in simplicity and measure. Verdi's *Requiem Mass*, Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi*: surely they are the two works in which the soul of modern Italy stands most completely revealed.

<sup>1</sup> 'a man whom God has terribly visited'.

## A NOTE ABOUT BOOKS

THERE is a very large literature on Manzoni in Italy. This is a summary of the works to which I am more directly indebted and which I have found helpful for general reading and research.

The most penetrating and convincing study of Manzoni is Attilio Momigliano, *Alessandro Manzoni*, 5th ed., 1948. Another comprehensive study is Alfredo Galletti, *Alessandro Manzoni. Il pensatore e il poeta*, 2 vols., 1927: a useful and competent guide, though far behind Momigliano's exquisite subtlety and precision.

For the study of the appreciation of Manzoni's masterpiece the posthumous essay of Michele Barbi, *I Promessi Sposi e la critica*, is invaluable. It was published in vol. iii of *Annali Manzoniani*, a cura del Centro Nazionale di Studi Manzoniani, 1942.

Among the older works, the essay by Giovita Scalvini, which is referred to in the text and dates back to 1831, can now be read in the volume *Foscolo, Manzoni, Goethe* published in 1948 by M. Marcazzan. De Sanctis' essays on Manzoni, which were written in the seventies, are still of paramount importance. They have been collected in one volume by Giovanni Gentile (De Sanctis, *Manzoni. Studi e lezioni*, 1922). Carducci's essay, *A proposito di alcuni giudizi su Alessandro Manzoni*, is dated 1873. It should be read in vol. xx of the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di G. Carducci*, together with the *Discorso di Lecco* of 1891. Croce's most important studies on Manzoni are contained in the volume *Alessandro Manzoni. Saggi e discussioni*, 1930; but see also his remarks in the book *La Poesia*.

Among recent studies the following must be remembered: Citanna, *Il Romanticismo e la poesia italiana*, 1935; Russo, *Ritratti e disegni storici*, 1936; Fossi, *La Lucia del Manzoni*, 1937 (including in an Appendix the Italian translation of all Goethe's writings on Manzoni); De Robertis, *Primi studi Manzoniani*, 1949. The following I have found particularly inspiring for the understanding of Manzoni's personality and art: Zottoli, *Umili e potenti nella poetica del Manzoni*, 2nd ed., 1942; Angelini, *Invito al Manzoni*, 1936, and *Manzoni*, 2nd ed., 1949; Calosso, *Colloqui col Manzoni*, 2nd ed., 1948.

On Manzoni's religion much has been written in the last decades. The works which I have had more particularly in mind when writing this lecture are the following: Ruffini, *La vita religiosa di Alessandro Manzoni*, 2 vols., 1931; Omodeo, *La religione del Manzoni*, 1931 (now in *Figure e passioni del Risorgimento italiano*, 2nd ed., 1945); Fossi, *La conversione di Alessandro Manzoni*, 1933, and *Alessandro Manzoni*, in *Italiani dell' Ottocento*, 1941; Zottoli, *Perché il Manzoni si convertì* (in the vol. *Umili e potenti*, cited above). Also, for the relationship with Pascal, Trompeo, *Il 'pari' di Manzoni*, in *Rilegature Gianseniste*, 1930. For the strictly orthodox interpretation, Busnelli, *La conversione del Manzoni*, 1913, and Premoli, *Vita di Alessandro Manzoni*, 2nd ed., 1928.

On Manzoni's cultural background, and particularly on the French

influences, the two following works are of great value: De Lollis, *Alessandro Manzoni e gli storici liberali francesi della Restaurazione*, 1926; Gabutti, *Il Manzoni e gli ideologi francesi*, 1936. The recent work of Mlle Christesco, *La fortune d'Alexandre Manzoni en France*, 1943, is an eloquent tribute to the close ties between Manzoni and France.

On Manzoni's treatment of history the following should be kept in mind: Croce, *Storia della storiografia italiana nel secolo decimonono*, 3rd ed., 1947, vol. i, chs. vi and viii; Nicolini, *Peste e untori nei 'Promessi Sposi' e nella realtà storica*, 1937; Sansone, *Saggio sulla storiografia manzoniana*, 1938. For his attitude to the historical novel and for his part in the development and criticism of the genre: Amado Alonso, *Ensayo sobre la novela histórica*, 1942.

An absorbing iconography of Manzoni and his times can be found in the volume of M. Parenti, *Immagini della vita e dei tempi di Alessandro Manzoni*, 1942.

My references to Manzoni's writings in the text of this lecture are mainly drawn from the following editions: *Tutte le Opere di Alessandro Manzoni*, a cura di G. Lesca, 1928; *Opere*, a cura del Centro Nazionale di Studi Manzoniani, vol. i, 1942, vol. ii, 1943; the two vols. of the *Carteggio di Alessandro Manzoni*, a cura di G. Sforza e G. Gallavresi, covering the period 1803-31; *Gli Sposi Promessi*, per la prima volta pubblicati da G. Lesca, 1924; *Osservazioni sulla Morale Cattolica*, Parte i e ii (Postuma), a cura di A. Cojazzi, 1910. References are also made to Tommaseo, *Colloqui col Manzoni*, and to Barbiera, *Il salotto della Contessa Maffei*.

My special thanks are due to Mr. R. J. O. Rees, Lecturer in Italian in the University of Oxford, for the translation of the letter published in note 2, and for his admirable rendering of the two passages from *La Pentecoste* and *Adelchi*.

## NOTES

## I (page 23)

The 'fortune' of Manzoni in England has been carefully assessed by Signorina Nicoletta Neri in an essay published shortly before the last war (*La fortuna del Manzoni in Inghilterra*, Estratto dagli Atti della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, vol. 74, 1939). The meagreness of her findings makes a striking contrast with the abundant harvest collected by Mlle Christesco in her parallel exploration of *La fortune d'Alexandre Manzoni en France*, cited above.

I have little to add to the information provided by Signorina Neri both with regard to the English translations of Manzoni and to the appreciation of his work in this country. Here, at any rate, are a few more points, some of which may have escaped her notice.

Gladstone's account of his visit to Manzoni in 1838 is a good illustration of a typical British attitude towards the Italian writer. It is quoted in Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, vol. i: 'I went to see Manzoni in his house some six or eight miles from Milan. . . . He was a most interesting man, but was regarded, as I found, among the more fashionable priests in Milan as a *bacchettone* (hypocrite). In his own way he was, I think, a liberal and a nationalist, nor was the alliance of such politics with strong religious convictions uncommon among the more eminent Italians of those days.'

Another piquant episode was recently told by Mario Borsa in the Italian paper *La Stampa*, June 1949. Having once asked Bernard Shaw for his opinion of Manzoni he got the following reply: 'I have never read one line of Manzoni. I know him only because of Verdi's *Requiem*, which I used to sing by heart from beginning to end.'

Katherine Mansfield's opinion of *I Promessi Sposi*, to which I have referred in the text, is quoted by D. H. Lawrence in a Preface to Verga's *Mastro Don Gesualdo*, now in *Phoenix, The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*, 1936. A highly appreciative account of Manzoni's work is given by Ford Madox Ford in *The March of Literature*, 1939. (I am indebted for this information to Professor J. C. Maxwell.)

To complete Signorina Neri's bibliography the following recent English works should be mentioned: J. F. Beaumont, 'Manzoni and Goethe', in *Italian Studies*, vol. ii, 1938/39; D. A. Traversi, 'The Significance of Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi*', in *Scrutiny*, 1940 (I have referred to this excellent article on p. 30 of this lecture); B. Reynolds, 'A. Manzoni and Leopold II, Grand-duke of Tuscany', in *Italian Studies*, vol. iii, 1947/48 (from one of the hitherto unpublished letters contained in this article I have taken my quotation on p. 41. The letter is dated 1834, shortly after Henriette's death). Miss Reynolds is also the author of the first comprehensive study in English of *The Linguistic Writings of Alessandro Manzoni*.

As for the efforts made on the part of Italians to explain to the English the beauties of Manzoni, it may be of interest to remember that a course of three lectures on Manzoni was given at Oxford, in the Taylor Institution, by Angelo De Gubernatis in May 1878. The lectures were published at Florence the following year. But an excellent guide for the British reader is now provided by Umberto Calosso in his *Colloqui col Manzoni*, which I have

already cited. It contains a chapter on *Manzoni e gli Inglesi* which I have found particularly stimulating. The book, which has unfortunately not yet been translated, was the outcome of Calosso's teaching in Malta during the war. Umberto Calosso, as may be remembered, was an exile during the Fascist régime. He is now, with Silone, a prominent figure in the Socialist party in Italy.

Finally I should like to express the hope that a modern translation of *I Promessi Sposi*, which is being prepared by Archibald Colquhoun and is to be published by Dent's, may stir up renewed interest in Manzoni among English readers.

## 2 (page 33)

For Shakespeare—*il mio Shakespeare*—Manzoni had more than the usual affection of the Romantics. In his later days he declared to a friend that the two greatest of all poets were to him Virgil and Shakespeare. 'Anyone who wants to write poetry must read Shakespeare. He knows all the feelings of man!'

The episode of Manzoni's skirmish with his first English translator on the subject of Shakespeare is worth recounting. It is not mentioned in L. Collison-Morley's book, *Shakespeare in Italy*, 1916, which deals at length with Manzoni. In a well-known passage of his novel (*Promessi Sposi*, ch. vii) Manzoni had referred to some famous lines in *Julius Caesar*, Act II, sc. i. He had not mentioned Shakespeare nor given a direct quotation, but contented himself with saying that the remark was due to 'un barbaro che non mancava d'ingegno'. The words, which Manzoni had obviously written with his tongue in his cheek, aroused the Rev. Charles Swan's righteous indignation. This is what he wrote in his Preface:<sup>1</sup>

'This passage contains a sentiment from Shakespeare, and I was struck, as anyone who reads it must be, with the parenthetical remark; in which the author styles the King of Bards *a barbarian not entirely destitute of talent*. Indignant, as a loyal subject should be at the aspersions of a rebel, I dared to fling the gauntlet at his feet; and in a letter to M. Manzoni (to which I was encouraged by a previous communication), I charged him zealously if feebly, with his crime. In the reply, which I am permitted to annex at foot, he condescends to rebut the charge; and extend a friendly hand, where I looked for a hostile glaive. He alleges, as will be seen, that the passage is ironical—but I will not spoil the defence by garbling it. Let the Reader consider it with attention; and while attracted by the beauty of the Author's style, the force and warmth of his panegyric on Shakespeare: while admiring the ingenious mode by which he deprecates our English prejudices—let him recommend to this highly gifted individual, henceforward to be less frugal of a note of admiration! And let him add, in the language of one among the consummate masters of Irony that England has had to boast—

*To statesmen when we give a wipe,  
We print it in Italic type.'*

And here is Manzoni's reply, which sheds more light than any comment

<sup>1</sup> *The Betrothed Lovers* . . . translated from the Italian of A. Manzoni. Pisa, N. Capurro, 1828.



not only on the genuineness of his admiration for Shakespeare, but on his character and humour:

*A Carlo Swan, a Pisa*<sup>1</sup>

Milano, 25 Gennaio 1828.

Pregiatissimo Signore,

Si ricorda Ella di quel personaggio della commedia, il quale, strapazzato e battuto dalla sua sposa, per sospetto geloso, si rallegra tutto di quegli sdegni, benedice quelle percosse, che gli sono testimonianza d'amore? Ora, pensi che tale, a un di presso, è il mio sentimento nel veder Lei in collera contro di me, per difendere il mio Shakespeare: giacchè, quantunque io non sappia un iota d'inglese, e quindi non conosca il gran poeta che per via di traduzioni, pure ne son sì caldo ammiratore, che quasi quasi ci patisco se altri pretenda esserlo più di me. E un tempo ch'io me la pigliava più calda che non adesso per la poesia e pei poeti, non Le so dire quanta rabbia mi facessero quelle così rabbiose e così inconsiderate sentenze di Voltaire e de' suoi discepoli sulle cose di Shakespeare. E forse più ancor delle ingiurie mi spiaceva quel modo strano di lodarlo dicendo che, in mezzo a una serie di stravaganze, egli esce di tempo in tempo in mirabili scappate di genio: come se la voce del genio, che in quei luoghi leva, per dir così, un grido, non fosse quella stessa che parla altrove; come se la stessa potenza, che ivi fa di sè una mostra straordinaria, non si mostrasse, con meno scoppio, ma con maravigliosa continuità, nella pittura di tante e tanto varie passioni, nel linguaggio di tanti caratteri e di tante situazioni, così umano e così poetico, così inaspettato e così naturale; linguaggio cui non trova se non la natura nei casi reali, e la poesia nelle sue più alte e profonde ispirazioni; come se

<sup>1</sup> *'To Charles Swan, at Pisa*

Milan, January 25, 1828.

Most esteemed Sir,

You remember the character in the comedy who, when upbraided and beaten by his jealous suspecting wife, revels in the hard words and blesses the blows, seeing in both a testimony of her love? Well, such, you must know, are more or less my feelings when I behold you turning upon me in anger to defend my Shakespeare: for though I do not know the smallest word of English and therefore owe my acquaintance with the great poet entirely to translations, yet I am such a warm admirer of his, that it almost causes me pain if another should claim to be so more than I. In those days when I was more inclined than I am at present to become heated on the subject of poets and poetry, I cannot tell you how I was enraged by the harsh inconsiderate judgements passed by Voltaire and his disciples on Shakespeare's writings. Perhaps it was not so much their insults which caused me displeasure as their strange manner of praising him, their contention that, in the midst of a series of enormities, he occasionally achieved a remarkable flight of genius: as if the voice of genius, which in particular passages raises a shout, so to speak, were not the same voice which speaks elsewhere; as if the power which on occasions reveals itself in so extraordinary a fashion were not also apparent, less blatantly but with marvellous continuity, in the delineation of so many and such various passions, in the language of so many characters and situations—a language so human and poetic, so unexpected and yet so natural: a language which nature alone can find in real life and which poetry cannot find unless it be in the moments of its profoundest and highest inspiration; as if this same power were not manifest in the choice, conduct and progress of events and emotions, in the arrangement of the whole, apparently so careless but in fact so consistent that one is at a loss whether to attribute it to a miraculous instinct or a miraculous design: or rather both are present to an extraordinary degree etc. etc.

la stessa potenza non apparisse nella scelta, nella condotta, nella progressione degli avvenimenti e degli affetti, nell'ordine, così negletto in apparenza e così seguito in effetto, che uno non sa se debba attribuirlo a un mirabile istinto, o ad un mirabile artificio: o piuttosto v'è straordinariamente dell'uno e dell'altro, etc. etc. E appunto contro quel sentimento di Voltaire (sul quale del resto, è stato detto da altri prima di me meglio ch'io non saprei mai dire) io me la son voluta prendere con quella mia frase ironica; la quale, intesa da Lei in senso proprio, non mi maraviglio che l'abbia così scandalizzata. Ma, poichè Ella l'ha intesa così, mi domanderà certamente come io abbia creduto che Ella l'avesse a intendere altrimenti. Le dirò che mi son fidato, prima di tutto, nelle parole stesse; le quali, se Ella vi pon mente, son tanto strane a pigliarle sul serio, che m'è sembrato che avvisassero per sè di doverle pigliare pel verso opposto. Quelli che han voluto metter più basso Shakespeare, lo hanno detto un genio rozzo, indisciplinato, ma tutt'altro che volgare: la mia proposizione, intesa secondo la lettera, verrebbe a dirlo un ingegno barbaro e mediocre. E un giudizio così lontano da tutti i giudizi riuscirebbe ancor più strano e inintelligibile nella circostanza in cui è messo fuori, a proposito cioè d'un luogo famoso, d'un passo che, anche da quelli che non apprezzano lo scrittore, è conosciuto e citato come uno dei più nobili di tutta la poesia. Oltracciò io mi sono fidato nella supposizione che i miei lettori (dei quali,

It was precisely against this attitude of Voltaire's (on which, moreover, others have already given their opinion much better than I ever could) that I wished to raise my protest when I wrote the ironical remark in question; which taken in the literal sense, as you took it, would very understandably cause offence. But as you did take it so you will certainly ask me how I could have believed that you would take it otherwise. To this my reply is that, in the first place, I relied upon the words themselves, which, if you will but recall them, are so ill-adapted to a serious interpretation that it seemed to me they contained a clear indication to the reader to take them in the opposite sense. Those who have sought to belittle Shakespeare have called him uncouth and undisciplined, but never vulgar: my statement, taken as it stands, implies that he was a barbarian and a mediocrity. A judgement such as this, already so far removed from all other judgements, becomes even stranger and more unintelligible when you consider the circumstances in which it is delivered, namely in reference to a famous passage which is recognized and quoted, even by those who do not appreciate Shakespeare, as one of the noblest in the whole of poetry.

In the second place, I relied upon the supposition that my readers (as you must have seen, I expected to have far fewer than fate has actually given me) were already familiar with my admiration for Shakespeare and would be guided by this knowledge when interpreting my words (that is, if the need to interpret ever arose). But how, you will ask once more, were they to know my attitude to Shakespeare? By a means which, as it happens, provides me with a most timely opportunity to carry out my vendetta (one of those terrible vendettas which are the fashion amongst us Italians) and punish you, if you will permit, for thinking so ill of me. Your punishment will be to read a letter of mine written in French on the subject of the dramatic unities—a good wordy letter, published some few years ago. But I perceive that you ask for mercy, and I would not be cruel: I therefore reduce your sentence to the bare minimum, and, to make an end of joking, shall ask you to consult the edition of various pieces of nonsense of mine produced here by Signor Capurro, and to study therein those parts of the letter which refer to Shakespeare. They are as follows: p. 409 (a brief comparison between the general scheme of *Othello* and Voltaire's *Zaire*); p. 414 (here, though I confess my distaste for the mixture of serious and comic in his plays, you will see for yourself whether I reject the man, or abate one jot of my admiration for him); p. 421 (in this case, as far as my own contribution is concerned,

come Ella deve aver veduto, io pronosticava al mio libro un numero ben minore di quello che gli ha dato la sorte) conoscessero la mia ammirazione per Shakespeare, e da questa conoscenza fossero guidati a interpretare (se ve n'era bisogno) le mie parole. Ma come l'avevano a conoscere? mi domanderà Ella di nuovo. Per un mezzo che mi viene a punto per fare una mia vendetta, una vendetta proprio di quelle atroci, alla moda di noi altri italiani, per castigarla, s'Ella mi permette, dell' aver pensato così male di me. E il suo castigo sarà di leggere una mia lettera, in francese,<sup>1</sup> intorno alle unità drammatiche, lunga di molte buone pagine e pubblicata già da qualche anno. Ma io veggo che Ella domanda misericordia, e non voglio esser crudele: ridurrò dunque la pena allo stretto necessario; o, per uscir di scherzo, La pregherò di guardare nell' edizione fatta costì da codesto sig. Capurro di varie mie corbellerie, i luoghi di quella lettera dove è parlato di Shakespeare. E sono alla pag. 409 un piccolo confronto tra il concetto generale dell' Otello e quello della Zaira di Voltaire. Poi, alla pag. 414 dove, confessando che non mi gusta la mescolanza del serio e del giocoso nei drammi dello Shakespeare, Ella vedrà s'io rinnego l'uomo, e se dibatto punto della mia ammirazione per esso. Alla 421, dove, per la parte mia Shakespeare non è quasi altro che nominato, ma vedrà come e in che compagnia: quivi son riferite osservazioni d'un mio amico,<sup>2</sup> le quali Ella leggerà sicuramente con piacere. Finalmente, s'io ho ben frugato per tutto, alla pag. 429, dove comincia un trasunto del Riccardo II; un trasunto magro e atto forse a dimostrare che chi l'ha steso abbia poco veduto in Shakespeare; ma non certamente che vi abbia poco guardato. Ciò non di meno, l'effetto che la mia frase ha prodotto in Lei così contrario al mio intento, mi dà giusto sospetto di non essermi spiegato così chiaro come avrei dovuto, e mi fa temere che un effetto simile non sia prodotto nel più degli altri lettori ch'io avrò da Lei: sicchè, non solo io consento (come Ella gentilmente mi propone); ma la prego che Ella voglia prevenire ogni simile interpretazione, in quel modo che Le parrà migliore.

Shakespeare is little more than referred to, but how and in what company you will see. Here too are quoted some observations of a friend of mine which I am sure you will read with pleasure). Finally, if my search has been thorough, on p. 429 there begins a summary of Richard II; a meagre summary and one that will perhaps only serve to show that I have seen little in Shakespeare: but certainly not that I have looked little.

In spite of all this, the effect which my remark has produced on you, contrary to all my intentions, gives me good grounds for suspecting that I did not express myself as clearly as I might have done and makes me fear that a similar effect will be produced on most of the readers whom I shall acquire through your efforts. Therefore do I not only authorize (as you kindly suggest I might do) but beg you to be good enough to take whatever measures you think fit to guard against the possibility of such an interpretation.

Once more I thank you for the honour which you do me in occupying yourself with my historical fable; and I rejoice in the hope which you give me that I may soon have the further honour of making your acquaintance personally and expressing to you by word of mouth my gratitude and esteem, with which sentiments

I beg to remain

Your most devoted and obedient servant

Alessandro Manzoni.'

(Translated by R. J. O. Rees)

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the *Lettre à M. G[hauvet] sur l'unité de temps et de lieu dans la tragédie*, first published in 1820.

<sup>2</sup> The friend was Claude Fauriel.

Le rendo nuove grazie dell' onore che Ella mi fa coll' occuparsi della mia favola-storia; e sento lietamente la speranza che Ella mi dà di potere presto aver quello di conoscerla personalmente e di esprimerle a viva voce la mia riconoscenza e i sentimenti dell' alta stima, coi quali mi pregio di rassegnarmele

Dev.mo Obb.mo Servitore  
Alessandro Manzoni.<sup>1</sup>

### 3 (page 36)

The question of Manzoni's debt to Sir Walter Scott has been examined many times, mainly by Italian students. The most recent and penetrating discussion of the question is in Zottoli, *Umili e potenti nella poetica del Manzoni*, pp. 193-207. For a further bibliography, and for an illustration of the parallel development of Scott's influence in France and in Italy, the book of Mlle Christesco, *La fortune d'Alexandre Manzoni en France*, may be usefully consulted (Part ii, ch. i).

According to an anecdote which was current in Italy during the last century, but was probably first circulated in France, Manzoni and Scott met in Milan and exchanged on that occasion the following compliments: 'I owe you my novel', Manzoni politely remarked to his British visitor. 'I should never have conceived it had it not been for your books.'—To which Sir Walter Scott replied even more courteously: 'If that is the case, then *I Promessi Sposi* is my very best novel.'

The anecdote is probably a pure invention, for it is very unlikely that Scott and Manzoni ever met. But it is a good illustration of a judgement which is often passed on Manzoni's novel, a judgement which certainly contains a fair amount of truth, but which may also direct the reader, and especially foreign readers, into an entirely wrong direction.

As for the similarities between Scott and Manzoni in the choice and treatment of subjects, I do not think that this is the place for discussing them in detail. But I should like to mention, in case it had escaped notice in this country, the remark of some Italian critics on the close resemblance between the plot of *I Promessi Sposi* and that of *The Fair Maid of Perth*. Scott's novel was published, and apparently even begun, after *I Promessi Sposi* had been released to the public: which might be evidence of a possible influence, but the other way round.

<sup>1</sup> *Carteggio di Alessandro Manzoni*, Parte Seconda, pp. 395-9; the letter was first published by the Rev. C. Swan himself in the Preface to his translation of 1828.



ANNUAL PHILOSOPHICAL LECTURE

HENRIETTE HERTZ TRUST

MORAL PRINCIPLES AND INDUCTIVE POLICIES

By R. B. BRAITHWAITE

*Read 15 February 1950*

THE outstanding philosophic achievement of the half-century which has just drawn to a close has been an appreciation of the peculiar status of *a priori* judgements and of logically necessary or formally true propositions. The function of such judgements, dimly foreshadowed in Kant's doctrine of categories and forms of intuition, has been illuminated by the work of mathematical logicians and the genius of Dr. Ludwig Wittgenstein. Though many problems remain unsolved, the main outline is now clear: formally true statements assert nothing about the nature of the world; instead, their function is to state principles according to which empirical propositions are deduced from other empirical propositions, this deduction involving the use of a language or other mode of expression whose rules correspond to, and explain the logical necessity of, the formally true statements. Philosophers in the empiricist tradition have thus had the burden lifted from them of having to account for *a priori* truth, and have been strengthened in their desire to base all knowledge—all non-formal knowledge—upon experience, and upon experience alone.

This illumination has had an influence upon the perennial argument in ethics between naturalists and absolutists.<sup>1</sup> It has discredited the *a priori* concepts of the absolutists; but, by showing that statements are used in other ways than as expressive of facts, it has also cast doubt upon the possibility of a simple naturalistic analysis of ethical concepts. Empirically minded moral philosophers have therefore recently concentrated their attention upon the distinctive function of language used in expressing moral judgements. Professor C. L. Stevenson has most admirably elucidated the intricate entanglement of 'emotive' with 'descriptive' meaning which occurs in ethical discourse, and the way in which emotive meaning modifies our attitudes, especially our attitudes of approval. These attitudes

<sup>1</sup> This term is used to cover all moral philosophers whose ethical theories are objective but not naturalistic.

are, of course, not logically independent of the actions to which they give rise; and this dependence opens the road to an alternative empirical approach to the problems of ethics, namely, one starting from the fact of moral decision and of moral behaviour, and saying something about the principles which govern such decisions and behaviour. Such an approach, which will be attempted in this lecture, should be regarded as complementary rather than as contrary to the approach by way of language which Stevenson modestly calls a 'sharpening [of] the tools which others employ'.<sup>1</sup> It may, however, prove more sympathetic to those who feel that the principles of the good life are more important than those of ethical conversation, and that the problem before all of us is primarily how to exercise Practical Reason in making right decisions rather than Theoretical Reason in conducting their post-mortem examination.

The primary object of study in ethics will therefore be taken to be the principles that direct moral conduct. A man's acceptance of a moral principle will be regarded as making some sort of remark about his future conduct. Now there is another type of statements which also looks to the future, namely, scientific hypotheses and other inductive generalizations. The chief function of these in our thinking is predictive: by predicting the future they enable us to regulate our future conduct. So a good way of starting the inquiry may be to compare moral decisions with inductive beliefs.

There is another excellent reason for making the comparison. The problem of the justification of our inductive beliefs is analogous to that of the justification of our moral judgements in that both have presented similar difficulties to epistemologists. The difficulty of justifying induction has forced many philosophers to posit a notion of causality not analysable in empirical terms and synthetic *a priori* propositions in which this causality can play a part. A similar reason appears to require something over and above the empirical in moral judgements. So perhaps a non-transcendental investigation of the former problem may throw light upon the latter.

The possibility of an empirical justification for induction has been argued by logicians since Hume opened the debate in 1739. Owing largely to the insight of C. S. Peirce, a solution in broad outline has been found acceptable by many contemporary philosophers, including myself. But before this solution can be transferred to its ethical analogue, the inductive

<sup>1</sup> *Ethics and Language* (1944), 1.

problem will have to be restated. For the inductive problem is concerned with the justification of beliefs, whereas what we require for a comparison with ethics is a justification of actions.

To reformulate the problem is not difficult. It is not necessary to accept the whole doctrine, propounded by Bain,<sup>1</sup> that belief consists in a propensity to action and in nothing more whatever: all that is required is to admit that a propensity to future action forms an essential part in a belief in a general proposition relating to the future. Even this need not be admitted if we are willing to separate acting scientifically from thinking scientifically. What is wanted is to translate the language used by Peircean logicians about inductive beliefs into language appropriate to describe inductive action. Let us try to do this.

Man, like other animals, confronts the future with dispositions to behave in certain ways under certain circumstances. If circumstances of this sort befall him, he performs actions which he would not otherwise have performed. A few of his behaviour-dispositions he is born with; these are manifested either at birth or at some later time like the age of puberty; but most of his behaviour-dispositions he acquires by a process of learning. Behaviour-dispositions are not all fixed: they may change in accordance with second-order behaviour-dispositions, which themselves may be either innate or acquired.

One way in which man, like other animals, acquires new behaviour-dispositions is of great importance. From having a behaviour-disposition which comes into play when a C-like event occurs, he learns to bring the behaviour belonging to this disposition into play *before* the C-like event occurs on the occasion of an event of a different kind—a B-like event—occurring. He learns to antedate the stimulus and to behave as he would have behaved had the C-like event occurred before it does in fact occur. This way of acquiring new behaviour-dispositions has been studied in its simplest form in what have been misleadingly called 'conditioned reflex' experiments: with man these new behaviour-dispositions can be acquired in much more sophisticated ways than the induction by simple enumeration practised by Pavlov's dogs.

Frequently in man behaviour in accordance with the new behaviour-disposition falls into two stages: a later stage of actions after the C-like event occurs, an earlier stage of actions

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Bain, *The Emotions and the Will* (1859), 568; *Mental and Moral Science* (1868), 372. The doctrine is qualified in editions of 1872 and later.



elicited by the occurrence of the B-like event which are preparatory to the actions of the later stage. When the dinner-bell rings, I walk into the dining-room; if, like Pavlov's dogs, I am very hungry, my mouth waters; but I do not pick up knife and fork until the food is actually set before me. My whole chain of actions is appropriate to my finally eating food, but the earlier part of the chain is preliminary to the manifestation of my eating-disposition proper. This earlier stage may therefore be considered as a manifestation of a separate disposition—a disposition to act, on the occurrence of a B-like event, in a manner of preparedness to make appropriate responses to a C-like event, when that will happen.

Suppose that a B-like event has occurred, and that a man with this 'preparedness'-disposition is acting preparedly for a C-like event happening. Suppose that no C-like event happens. The man has already started to act in a manner appropriate to such an occurrence, since the preparedness itself is such an appropriate action; but, since what he is prepared for does not happen, there is in fact nothing to which his preparedness is appropriate. The man is, as we say, 'let down'. The situation is entirely different from that in which a man who is pursuing a course of action directed towards a certain goal finds during the course of this action that the attainment of his goal is prevented by adverse circumstances. In this case his goal-directed activity has been frustrated by *force majeure*; but the activity was appropriate to the original stimulus which elicited it; and, by virtue of what biologists call 'plasticity', the man can start again and try to attain his goal by a different and more effective route. But in the case which we are considering the proper stimulus is itself lacking: the man acts in a manner which is only appropriate if something happens which in fact does not happen. His activity, being 'uncalled for', becomes altogether pointless; and there is nothing for him to do but to cut his losses and to resume what he had been doing before he prepared himself for an eventuality which did not eventuate.

I have distinguished these preparedness-dispositions from dispositions to perform goal-directed activities. But most cases of goal-directed activity take place in stages, in which attainment of the subsidiary goal of the first stage is the stimulus eliciting the second stage, and so on. So the activity of pursuing the first subsidiary goal includes a preparedness for the second-stage activity when this first goal is attained; and, if circumstances prevent this attainment, the preparedness becomes pointless.

If, in such a simple goal-directed action as carrying food to my mouth with a fork, the food falls off the fork before it reaches my mouth, my preparedness-action in opening my mouth becomes pointless—though it will regain its point when I try again more successfully. It is, however, worth separating out the preparedness-dispositions from the rest of the dispositions manifested in a complex course of action, because they have the peculiarity that since, unlike other dispositions, the situations to which their actions are appropriate are later in time than the actions themselves, manifestations of preparedness-dispositions can be rendered pointless, can be ‘disappointed’, in a way which is not possible for manifestations of other dispositions. There is a point in running to the station to catch a train even if you miss it, but no point at all if there is no train there to miss.

What I have described in terms of preparedness-dispositions is what, on the cognitive level (or in cognitive language, if one does not wish to admit a separate cognitive level), is described in terms of beliefs in general propositions which give rise to predictions that may turn out to be false. A course of action is a manifestation of a preparedness-disposition if the agent acts when a B-like event has occurred *as if* he believes that every B-like event is followed by a C-like event, his action being disappointed (as I have used this word) corresponding to a prediction based upon this belief being found to be false. In metaphorical language, the man is acting in reliance upon Nature living up to his expectations: if Nature lets him down, he is thwarted in a quite specific way.

Man, perhaps alone among the animals, can acquire second-order behaviour-dispositions enabling him, under certain circumstances, to exercise deliberate control over his first-order behaviour-dispositions. He has, within limits, powers both to acquire new first-order dispositions and to disacquire old ones: he has, within limits, liberty of choice as to what first-order dispositions he shall choose to have. Unless these choices are made arbitrarily, they will be made in accordance with some principle or policy.

It is here that evaluative notions enter. For a man, even if he always tries, will not always succeed in bringing his first-order dispositions, and consequently his behaviour, into line with his chosen policy. So we distinguish, with regard to any particular policy, between those dispositions which are in line with the policy and those which are not, calling the former by such adjectives as ‘right’ or ‘rational’ or ‘good’, and the latter

by such adjectives as 'wrong' or 'irrational' or 'bad'. Since we are now concerned with what is in common in evaluating any disposition, the epithets 'valid' and 'invalid' will be employed as being the most neutral between ethics and logic. A policy will therefore be said to validate or to invalidate certain behaviour-dispositions; and to have that second-order disposition which consists in following the policy successfully will be to acquire (or to retain) behaviour-dispositions validated by the policy, and to disacquire (or to refrain from acquiring) behaviour-dispositions invalidated by the policy.

I have expressed myself in terms of a liberty of choice, within limits, because that is how the practical moral and logical problems present themselves to us *qua* would-be-moral-but-not-too-moral agents and *qua* would-be-rational-but-not-too-rational thinkers. But freedom to choose, and temptations to choose invalidly, are in fact irrelevant to the comparison of different sorts of validation. Even if no one ever made mistakes in arithmetic, it would be significant to say that no mistakes in arithmetic were made. And if all our wills were Kantian 'holy wills' and all our scientists were 'holy scientists', there would still be maxims in ethics and in inductive reasoning, though no categorical imperatives would be required to enforce obedience.

Positive policies which validate or negative policies which invalidate preparedness-dispositions will be called predictive policies: positive or negative policies which validate or invalidate other dispositions, or the non-preparedness parts of complex dispositions, will be called non-predictive policies. The problems of the former translated into the language of beliefs fall into the traditional province of inductive logic and scientific methodology: problems of the latter, also frequently treated in terms of beliefs, fall within the domain of traditional ethics.

The first and principal thesis maintained in this lecture is, then, that, if we think of the problems of inductive logic and of ethics in terms of how we would or might act in the future, the problems present a remarkable similarity in that the whole conceptual apparatus of policies validating or invalidating behaviour-dispositions is applicable to both.<sup>1</sup> To go on to discuss, as I wish to do, the justification for the selection of those policies

<sup>1</sup> Among contemporary philosophers John Dewey has been the most vigorous in combating the separation of moral from scientific knowledge. But Dewey has tried to effect the integration by emphasizing the predictive function of moral judgements, which is exactly that feature of scientific judgements which I take moral judgements to lack.

which are to be adopted requires a summary account of the main features of the two different types.

Let us take predictive policies first. Though there are many derivative negative predictive policies (e.g. that invalidating all those preparedness-dispositions corresponding to hypotheses which the consensus of opinion of a certain group of scientists—or of a certain group of theologians—holds to be untenable), there is only one fundamental negative predictive policy, namely, that which treats as invalid any preparedness-disposition a manifestation of which is disappointed (in my sense of this word). This policy with respect to behaviour-dispositions corresponds to the policy with respect to beliefs in general propositions of rejecting all those beliefs which give rise to false predictions. This latter policy is so much part of our pattern of culture that it has been incorporated into the semantics of the language in which we express our general beliefs. What we mean to assert by saying that all swans are white is exactly that proposition<sup>1</sup> which is falsified if any swan is observed not to be white. The behavioural policy of rejecting preparedness-dispositions which yield disappointments is thus the foundation of the way in which falsity is attributed to general empirical statements. Without it our empirical beliefs would be isolated from our preparedness-behaviour.

There are many positive predictive policies used by scientists and discussed by inductive logicians, and they are not easily classifiable as species of one genus. But they all have one feature which they share in common with the unique negative predictive policy: they all have reference to previous experience. The policy corresponding to induction by simple enumeration is to treat any preparedness-disposition as validated, provided that it has been manifested in the past on many occasions and that none of these manifestations have been disappointed. The other predictive policies used—except those based upon authority which I am regarding as derivative—all involve similar provisos: in a more sophisticated policy the proviso may be in terms of the manifestations in the past of preparedness-dispositions other than those covered by the policy. The policy underlying Mill's methods, for example, validates a preparedness-disposition provided that alternative preparedness-dispositions have in the past yielded disappointment. This common feature of all predictive policies used by empirical thinkers corresponds to the inductive logicians' requirement that empirical hypotheses,

<sup>1</sup> To be strictly correct: the logically weakest proposition which. . . .

to be in any way acceptable, must be supported by experience: predictive policies with this feature will therefore be called 'inductive policies'.

The different positive inductive policies correspond to the different inductive methods discussed in books on inductive logic and on scientific methodology: thus there are inductive policies corresponding to induction by simple enumeration, to Mill's methods for eliminating alternative hypotheses, and to the hypothetico-deductive method of subsuming the hypotheses in question under higher-level hypotheses in a scientific system. Each positive policy has its own criterion for validating preparedness-dispositions; or, to speak more exactly, the criterion is the policy. The criterion may be a vague one, so that it is uncertain whether or not it validates a particular preparedness-disposition: no defender of induction by simple enumeration has ever been able to say exactly how many instances justify accepting the inductive conclusion. And different criteria may disagree, so that what is validated by the one is not validated by the other. If the preparedness-disposition validated by the one is incompatible with the preparedness-disposition validated by the other, there will be a conflict of policies analogous to a moral conflict of duties. In such cases Aristotle's ἐν τῇ αἰσθήσει ἡ κρίσις ('the decision rests with perception') is as true for scientific as for moral decisions: where inductive policies conflict there is nothing in the last resort but the good sense of the scientist.

To turn now to non-predictive policies. The behaviour-dispositions which they cover are dispositions not covered by predictive policies: they are dispositions called into play by certain circumstances and resulting in courses of action which are not essentially activities of preparedness. Like the predictive policies, these non-predictive policies are to be regarded as validating the behaviour-dispositions they cover: since this validation is a concern of ethics rather than of logic, all non-predictive policies will, for convenience, be called 'moral'. Examples of such moral policies are the policies of fulfilling promises, of repairing injuries done by the agent, of conferring benefits upon those who have benefited the agent—indeed all the policies corresponding to the special obligations which Sir David Ross includes among his '*prima facie* duties'.<sup>1</sup> In all these cases the evaluative criterion applied in the first instance to justify a behaviour-disposition is that the disposition falls under one of these principles. If I happen to remark, 'I shall post this book

<sup>1</sup> W. D. Ross, *The Right and the Good* (1930), chap. ii.

to Mr. Smith on '28 February', or, 'I shall post this book to Mr. Smith when I have finished reading it' and am asked why I intend to do so, I shall reply, 'Because I promised him I would'; and to give this answer is to justify my intended action as being one which falls under the policy of promise-keeping.

It is interesting to notice that these policies of special obligation, besides covering the behaviour-dispositions which fall under them in a similar way to that in which inductive policies cover beliefs and preparedness-dispositions, have another feature in common with inductive policies, namely, that they all have reference to previous experience. Indeed, policies of special obligation all refer to some particular event or events in the previous experience of the agent. The promise-keeping policy validates the behaviour-dispositions involved in keeping the promise, provided that the agent made the promise. The reparation policy validates the behaviour-dispositions of repairing the injury, provided that the agent did the injury. And so on. Ross calls such duties 'special obligations' because each of them is an obligation not towards all men in general, but towards a special sub-class of men. This sub-class is picked out as consisting of those in a special relationship with the agent, the special relationship having been produced in the past by an action-and-reaction between members of this sub-class and the agent of which the agent is aware in settling his behaviour-dispositions.

Policies of special obligation then have, like inductive policies, essential reference to known facts about the past. But not all moral policies are of this type. The policies which correspond to Ross's *prima facie* duties of general obligation cannot easily be considered as dependent upon previous experience. It is unplausible to suppose, for example, either that my policy of beneficence is a policy of gratitude for benefits known to have been conferred upon me by humanity at large, or that it arises from an implicit contract between myself and all other men to follow the golden rule in regard to them in consideration of their doing likewise in regard to me. Duties of special obligation, however, have received particular attention from moral philosophers in recent years, for the reason that they do not fit easily into a teleological ethic; and it is therefore noteworthy that they have a resemblance to inductive policies over and above the fact that all these policies, predictive or moral, work in the same way by validating, rationally or morally, the behaviour-dispositions which they cover.

The doctrine here presented is in terms of policies, inductive

and moral, validating or invalidating behaviour-dispositions. This way of introducing evaluative concepts will not permit us to say that any particular behaviour-disposition is valid *per se*, but only that it is validated by, or valid in accordance with, some particular policy. The notion of validity is thus essentially relative to the validating policy. Many contemporary philosophers are prepared to stop at this point. The distinction between the world of fact and the world of value—between what will be and what should be—is sufficiently preserved, they say, in the distinction between behaviour-dispositions stating what a man will do under certain circumstances and the policies according to which his behaviour-dispositions should be adjusted. And they may go on to say, with Professor Felix Kaufmann,<sup>1</sup> that to act and to judge rightly means simply to act or to judge in accordance with recognized norms of conduct or of scientific procedure, so that the proposition that a behaviour-disposition validated by a recognized policy is right or is rational is always an analytic proposition. But even if this were an adequate account of the current use of the words 'right' and 'rational' (and it seems to me a very inadequate account), the question, 'Why should such-and-such a policy be pursued?' remains a significant question, not to be answered by saying merely, 'Because it is a policy'. We have every right to ask for a reason for choosing one policy from among many possible alternatives and for trying to pursue the policy chosen. It is not as if we were not frequently confronted with incompatible policies, as in cases of conflicts of duties, or of inductive methods between which we have to choose, nor that we are not frequently tempted to avoid regulating our conduct or our beliefs in accordance with the policies which we have chosen. (And most of us are tempted to 'wishful thinking' quite as much as to unprincipled action.) The advice, 'Choose what policies you like and do and think what you like: only don't *call* your actions "right" or your beliefs "rational" unless they accord with the policies you have chosen' is, frankly, not good enough for those of us who have eaten of the forbidden tree. We properly ask for a justification—a second-order justification—of the policies we use to give a first-order justification to our actions and thoughts.

Here I am wholeheartedly with the teleological moralists. The question, 'Why adopt a particular policy?' is a teleological question demanding the statement of an end to the attainment of which the policy is a means. The only other interpretation

<sup>1</sup> *Methodology of the Social Sciences* (1944), chap. ix.

which I can give to this question is the causal one—‘What causes the adoption of the policy?’—and this does not answer the moral question, though answers to it may be relevant to apportionment of praise or of blame. That the justification of policies lies in reference to the ends which they subserve is the second thesis to be maintained in this lecture.

The objection that has always been felt to teleological systems of ethics—to utilitarianism, whether hedonistic or agathistic—is that it is just not the case that we always evaluate our particular actions by reference to the values of their actual or probable consequences. It is most unpalatable to have to justify my obedience to a generally advantageous moral law by saying that the indirect evil effects which would be produced by my bad example if I disobeyed the law would be worse than the direct good effects of the disobedient action. I cannot believe that, except in quite exceptional circumstances, my example would have the demoralizing effects which utilitarians have to attribute to it. These objections, however, do not hold against a view which makes the primary justification for an action that it is in accordance with a moral policy but secondarily justifies that policy by teleological considerations. This point may be elucidated by considering its parallel in the inductive case.

The justification of inductive policies put forward by logicians of the Peircean school is that they are means to the end of making true predictions. Some, like Mr. William Kneale,<sup>1</sup> would say that induction is the only way, or at least the only systematic way, by which we can attempt to attain this end. But there are predictive policies which are not inductive policies; e.g. the policy, attacked by Bacon, of deducing the future from metaphysical premisses, or the policy of trusting a soothsayer’s predictions without any evidence of his past success as a prophet. What it is true to say is that no predictive policy which is not an inductive policy has been found to be *reliable* in making predictions. This, however, is a negative remark. The Peircean justification for a particular inductive policy must be that the policy itself is, on the whole, predictively reliable. Different inductive policies differ widely in their reliability: it is for this reason that, while taking over Kneale’s useful word ‘policy’, I have usually put it into the plural.

What is meant by saying of a particular inductive policy that it is predictively reliable? Peirce at one time gave as a criterion of reliability that predictions obtained by following the policy

<sup>1</sup> *Probability and Induction* (1949), 234, 235, 259.



turned out 'for the most part' to be true.<sup>1</sup> As a historic proposition about the predictions given by following any particular inductive policy in the past this is highly doubtful: we have not got enough evidence of the relative number of disappointed and of non-disappointed preparedness-actions that have taken place. But Peirce's criterion is unnecessarily narrow; it is surely a sufficient justification of an inductive policy that it *frequently* gives rise to true predictions. Since no predictive policy which is not an inductive policy does this, there is no way of successfully pursuing our aim of predicting the future except by employing some inductive policy. Much less than half a loaf is a great deal better than no bread.

The rational justification for holding a particular general belief or for having a particular preparedness-disposition is thus given in two stages: firstly, that the belief or the disposition is in accordance with a particular inductive policy; and, secondly, that following this policy frequently leads to true predictions or to preparedness-actions which are not disappointed. The rationality of the belief does not depend upon the belief itself being a means towards the end of predicting truth, but consists in the fact that the inductive policy covering it is, frequently, a means to this end.

Peirce's justification of induction stops at this point—at subserving the end of foretelling the truth or its behavioural counterpart. The moralist may, however, question whether foretelling the truth is an ultimate end, and may ask what is the good of being able to predict the future. This is a perfectly proper question, and one not difficult properly to answer. For those who hold that knowledge is an end in itself, and thus think the question superfluous, will willingly admit that knowledge is also a means, and indeed the only possible means, to almost every other end. Any purposive activity directed towards attaining a goal through a causal chain involving intermediate steps requires the predictive beliefs that one step will follow another in this chain and that the goal will follow the penultimate step. Even a goal-directed activity which is not consciously purposive but which proceeds by way of intermediate steps involves preparedness-dispositions to do the next appropriate action when the intermediate goal has been attained. To follow some predictive policy is therefore necessary in order to be able to follow

<sup>1</sup> *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*, vol. ii (1932), 2.649 (1878), 2.693 (1878). In his later life Peirce put forward a different justification of inductive method—that it is self-corrective: see 2.781 (1902), 2.769 (1905).

any policy whatever which covers a goal-directed activity. And unless we choose the best predictive policy open to us (and this will be some inductive policy), we shall not pursue our goals as effectively as we might.

It is a platitude that science is equally necessary for the pursuit of good and of evil ends. Inductive policies, for those who do not accept knowledge as an end in itself, may be justified by their service to every end-pursuing moral policy. Since such use of inductive policies is, as mathematicians would say, 'invariant' with respect to all end-pursuing moral policies, this justification does not depend upon a choice of the moral policy to be served by the inductive policies. Similarly, in political philosophy, those who would agree in holding a public policy of liberty, expressed in some such formula as the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, to be an essential means to the furtherance of most private ends, would defend this policy by asserting its invariance with respect to many other moral policies. The peculiarity of inductive policies is their invariance with respect to every policy which pursues ends indirectly: it is this peculiarity, rather than the virtue of knowledge for its own sake, which gives a relative autonomy to the justification of induction and a relative ethical neutrality to scientific thought.

There is, however, one type of inductive thinking where it is difficult to preserve even this relative autonomy, namely, inductive inference in which the conclusion from the evidence is not a universal hypothesis stating that all B's are C's or that no B's are C's, but a statistical hypothesis stating that a certain proportion between 0 per cent. and 100 per cent. of the B's are C's. Such a statistical law is not proved to be false, in the sense of deductive logic, if future experience yields, and continues to yield, observed proportions of B's that are C's widely different from the proportions asserted by the law. The statistical law that, by and large, the proportion of pennies thrown which fall heads is 50 per cent. is not logically refuted by no heads ever turning up or by no tails ever turning up or by our finding any ratio whatever of heads to tails in any set of throws which we can observe. So the simple negative inductive policy applicable to universal hypotheses—of rejecting those which are contrary to experience—cannot be applied to statistical hypotheses, since, strictly speaking, no such hypothesis is empirically refutable. Instead statistical mathematicians have had to work out sophisticated negative policies all of which depend upon arbitrary factors which have to be chosen by an Aristotelian *αισθησις* in

each case. The negative policy most widely used is that of agreeing to reject a statistical hypothesis if the proportion of B's that are C's in a set of observations differ so widely from the proportion asserted by the hypothesis that the number of possible sets of observations differing at least as widely would, if the hypothesis were true, be less than some small fraction (e.g.  $1/20$ th or  $1/100$ th or  $1/1,000$ th) of the total number of possible sets. The deviation from the asserted proportion which satisfies this condition can be deduced from the hypothesis; if the deviation in a set of observations is greater than this, the policy requires that the hypothesis should be rejected—not because the set of observations are logically incompatible with the truth of the hypothesis, but because, were the hypothesis to be true, it would be very unlikely that a set of observations deviating so widely would have occurred. But what is to fix this degree of unlikelihood? Should it be  $1/20$ th or  $1/100$ th or  $1/1,000$ th? This cannot be decided by considerations falling solely within inductive logic. Imagine the case of a hypothesis which is such that, if it were true, it could be used to develop a treatment for a disease for which no other treatment was known. It would then be justifiable to employ a very small fraction for fixing what the statisticians call the 'size' of the 'critical region', and to reject the hypothesis only if the observations would be very unlikely indeed were the hypothesis to be true. If less were at stake, it might well be preferable to choose a larger critical region, and to reject a hypothesis if the observations would have only a moderate degree of unlikelihood were the hypothesis to be true. Thus the importance of the use to which a statistical hypothesis can be put is highly relevant to the decision as to whether or not the hypothesis is to be rejected on given evidence.<sup>1</sup>

The irruption of ethics into inductive logic is even more striking when there are alternative statistical hypotheses in the field, and we have to select the best of them on the basis of the observed evidence. The general theory of policies for such selection has recently been developed by Professor Abraham Wald,<sup>2</sup> who has shown that a prerequisite for choosing any satisfactory

<sup>1</sup> Sinclair Lewis's novel *Martin Arrowsmith* (1925) draws a vivid picture of conflicts between intellectual and moral aims in the practical application of bacteriology.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, x (1939), 299; xviii (1947), 549; xx (1949), 165; *Annals of Mathematics*, xli (1945), 265; *Econometrica*, xv (1947), 279; *On the Principles of Statistical Inference* (1942), chap. vi.

general selection policy is a previous assignment of values to the losses we should sustain should we fail to reject a hypothesis which in fact is false. Without such an assignment there is no good reason for accepting one statistical hypothesis rather than another; but, given such an assignment, there is a policy which has a unique property not depending upon any arbitrary factor, namely, that of selecting among the hypotheses in such a way that we stand to lose least if the selected hypothesis is false. Somewhat surprisingly Wald's result is mathematically equivalent to a theorem which occurs in Professors von Neumann and Morgenstern's *Theory of Games*;<sup>1</sup> so Wald is able to express his theory metaphorically in terms of the scientist pitting his wits in a game against Nature as opponent. The safest strategy for playing a game is that which reduces to a minimum the maximum of the losses which your opponent can inflict upon you by any method of play open to him: the safest inductive policy for the scientist to adopt is that which minimizes the maximum of the losses which Nature can inflict upon him by behaving in any way whatever. Just as the game player cannot settle his safest strategy without knowing the stakes in the game, so the scientist cannot decide his safest inductive policy without knowing what he stands to gain or lose by the different ways in which Nature may behave. There are, it is true, special simple cases in which the choice of the inductive policy, like that of the strategy of play, does not depend upon the amounts at stake; but even in these special cases the stakes are relevant if we are interested in choosing a policy for selecting hypotheses which, if not exactly true, approximate to the truth. For the amount we should lose by a bad approximation affects the degree of approximateness to the truth with which we shall be satisfied.

Utilitarian moralists have been compelled to bring considerations of probability into ethics in order to avoid the unplausibility of making what a man ought to do depend upon an unknown future. The most plausible form of utilitarianism, therefore, determines the rightness of an action by its probable, and not by its actual, consequences. Scientifically rational beliefs are thus indispensable to moral decisions: we cannot be good, or at least deliberately good, without being wise. The modern principles of statistical inference show that, vice versa, judgements of value are, in the last analysis, inextricably involved in choosing the best way to obtain scientific knowledge:

<sup>1</sup> John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944), chap. iii.

we cannot be wise without making judgements of good and of evil.

The inductive policy of choosing a hypothesis so as to minimize the maximum loss presupposes a method of assigning numbers to gains and losses which raises all the well-known difficulties involved in the notion of a hedonistic or eudaimonistic calculus. One method would be to measure the gains or losses in monetary or other economically measurable terms; and this method is clearly appropriate when the hypothesis in question is that a certain industrial process is turning out goods of a certain standard quality where the firm of manufacturers will suffer a definite monetary loss if the goods are not up to standard. If an economic measurement of gains and losses is used, the pure theory of statistical inference becomes part of pure economics, and its applicability will depend upon the extent to which scientists are prepared to limit themselves to being 'economic men'. It may well be argued, however, that it is a necessary condition for life in a complex community which practises division of labour for most people to approximate to economic men for most of the time. If this be so, inductive policies can be justified as means to maximize economic 'utilities', the economic policy of maximizing utilities being justified by its necessity for social co-operation.

Such social necessity may also be cited as a second-order justification for many of the moral policies which correspond to Ross's *prima facie* obligations. Society as we know it could not exist if we did not speak the truth and fulfil our promises and repair our injuries and refrain from injuring others, or at least unless we accepted the policies of so doing and outweighed our weaknesses of will with legal sanctions.

The perfectly proper question as to why a particular moral or inductive policy should be adopted may therefore in many cases be properly answered by mentioning ends which the adoption of the policy would subserve. Many moral and economic policies subserve social ends directly: inductive policies, to the extent that they are independent of evaluative judgements, subserve the end of predicting the future which itself subserves the end of enabling us to pursue a goal deliberately by indirect means, which itself is of indispensable social utility. But, while I shall have displeased the positivist extremists by proposing any justification whatever for the policies I intend to adopt (except that they will be those current in the 'culture circle' unto which it shall please God to call me), my partial teleology will not have

satisfied the absolutists. They will ask what guarantees the value of the ends—social co-operation, knowledge of the laws of Nature, ability to seek a goal by devious means—which I have cited to guarantee my policies. *Quis custodiet custodes ipsos?*

It is tempting to produce an infinitely ascending series of guardians, the integrity of each being guaranteed by the one next higher in the series, and to reply to the demand for a last term in the series with the rejoinder that we ask for no last term in the ascending hierarchy of hypotheses forming a scientific system. We explain the moon's revolution round the earth by subsuming it (together with other phenomena) under Newton's law of gravitation; we explain this law by subsuming it (together with other laws) under Einstein's General Theory of Relativity; we may be able in the future to subsume this (together perhaps with the laws of quantum physics) under some still more general explanation; but we can never produce an ultimate explanation: indeed, it is a nonsense-question to ask for one. So may we not similarly justify pursuit of end A by subsuming it (together with other ends) under a wider end B, justify pursuit of end B by subsuming it (together with other ends) under a still wider end  $\Gamma$ , and so on; but decline to ask for an ultimate end  $\omega$  under which all lesser ends may be subsumed? But, alas, there is a logical difference between the two hierarchies: in ascending the scientific hierarchy the propositions become stronger and stronger so that we are saying more and more; in ascending the hierarchy of ends the propositions become weaker and weaker so that we are saying less and less. This arises from the fact that, whereas a lower-level scientific law is a logical consequence of its higher-level explanation, conversely pursuit of a wider end B is a logical consequence of pursuit of a narrower end A (together with the fact that A is subsumed under B, i.e. that all pursuits of A are also pursuits of B). So as we ascend the hierarchy the ends decrease in content and lose all definite outline. This accounts for the peculiar elusiveness that many of us find in concepts which the great moral philosophers have proposed as ultimate ends—Aristotle's *εὐδαιμονία* or Mill's 'happiness', for example. It is easy to give positive or negative instances of these; but the concepts themselves seem inscrutable—almost as inscrutable as the indefinable 'goodness' of *Principia Ethica*. The reason would seem to be that, in order to justify all lesser goods, they have to be so comprehensive as to lose all cognitive content. An ascending series of ends each of which is a necessary condition for its predecessors in the series soon fades into ineluctable obscurity.

Many non-ultimate ends, however, have the opposite property of being necessary conditions for their *successors* in any ascending series of ends which we can imagine. This invariance with respect to further ends has already been remarked upon in several important cases.<sup>1</sup> Thus I find it difficult to conceive of any end to which scientific knowledge is not an essential means. And I cannot easily think of many ends which do not require social co-operation for their attainment. The right line for an empirical moralist to take is surely not to deny that the ends which he pursues require a justification, but to assert boldly that they will stand up to any justification whatsoever.<sup>2</sup> In the past the empiricist has often been cross-examined by a Socrates demanding an ultimate justification for the empiricist's limited aims. Let him instead take on the role of examiner, and demand of his critic whether his own *summum bonum* (whatever it may be) can be sought in any way except by pursuing the modest aims which the empiricist sets before himself. If the answer is in the negative, the empiricist and the absolutist will be in agreement upon the policies which, as moralists, they should advocate, the only difference between them being that the absolutist will justify these common principles by their subservience to an ultimate end, the empiricist by reference to their invariance as means towards any further end. And the empiricist, if he wishes, may perfectly well use traditional teleological language, and speak of pursuing εὐδαιμονία or of pursuing *happiness*, using these abstract nouns not to denote unique but nebulous concepts but, in a way in which both Aristotle and Mill seem frequently to have used them, as collective names for the Kingdom of all final Ends.

In this Kingdom are many mansions. It is more reasonable to seek to enter this Kingdom by the only known modes of entry than to postpone the attempt until assured as to which, if any, of the mansions is the ultimate end of the quest.

<sup>1</sup> Invariance is an essential characteristic of Stevenson's 'focal aims' (*Ethics and Language*, 179, 189, 203, 329). I have not used Stevenson's term because he introduces it in the context of a conflation of means with ends to which I cannot altogether subscribe.

<sup>2</sup> Even G. E. Moore, for all his insistence that the question of the goodness of means is secondary to that of the goodness of the ends subserved, is willing to admit that 'rules [which] can be recommended as a means to that which is itself only a necessary condition for the existence of any great good can be defended independently of correct views upon the primary ethical question of what is good in itself' (*Principia Ethica* (1903), 158).

ANNUAL SHAKESPEARE LECTURE  
THE EMERGENCE OF SHAKESPEARE'S  
TRAGEDY

By H. V. D. DYSON

*Read 26 April 1950*

THE ambiguous title of this lecture conceals the fact that I propose to take advantage of the great kindness shown me in the invitation to deliver the Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy for 1950 by considering the tragedies in somewhat general terms, by offering some observations on the particular relevance that they may have for us today, and by glancing at some of the ways in which they are related to, and in part developments from, the histories and comedies. I do not mean that the latter plays are not self-sufficient in themselves, autonomous and complete, or that when writing them Shakespeare necessarily had any idea that he was moving towards greater things. But surely most dramatists would prefer to have written *Hamlet* rather than *Henry IV*, or *King Lear* rather than *Twelfth Night* and Shakespeare, who early in his career experimented, as we know, with different kinds of tragedy, may quite possibly have had, for a long time, the more ambitious objective in mind. I suppose one can take for granted that we at present have no doubt, no serious doubt, that the mature tragedies are the crown of his work, his most profound utterances. Such agreement, if this be a point on which we really are agreed, could not always have been assumed, and the future may see yet another change in our preferences.

Shakespeare's art did not develop in the comparative social solitude of Wordsworth's or in the cloistered intellectual seclusion of Milton's. It was conditioned by the necessity of pleasing a heterogeneous body of spectators, and of being interpreted by a more or less permanent body of actors. He worked in the most intimate relations with his fellow men that can be imagined; one of a body of players, all interested, though not all in quite the same way or to the same extent, in the success of their project, and all dependent on himself for their best plays. He in turn was hardly less dependent on them. A new clown joining their company might permanently enlarge the possibilities of English drama, a lost tragedian might modify Shakespeare's



understanding of the nature of good and evil. What he owed to the vanity and intelligence of his colleagues, what might be lost and won in a single rehearsal, we shall never know. And over against them was the audience with its developing traditions of what it liked, of what it was prepared to stand. Both the desire for the kind of excitement that novelty brings, and for the kind of satisfaction that comes from well-trying, well-understood amusement-techniques—a joke, for instance, should be very old or quite new—operated with his as with all other audiences.

Shakespeare's wisdom grew up with his power of entertaining. It may reasonably be conjectured that many of Wordsworth's characteristic intuitions of the interaction of man and nature would have developed even had he not been a poet. His habits of contemplation and introspection, the visionary quality of his world, seem to have developed in him in relative independence of his poetry. His greatest poem tells us about the growth, the loss, and the recovery of his capacity for seeing into the life of things. We may well feel that even if he had never become a poet he might yet have been a seer, a seer whose vision was unshared, who left no record.

It was otherwise with Shakespeare, in whom art and vision were identical. His sense of time and its varying significance, abbreviated by love, lengthened by pain or desire, in tragedy the bringer of disaster, in the last plays the restorer of peace, deepened with his capacity for using the two or three hours allowed for the exercise and deployment of his plays on the stage. As he grew more skilled in the contriving of entrances and exits, birth and death were more profoundly imagined; as his poetry varied its notes and condensed its imagery so he uncovered the more intimate layers of his mind; conflict and reconciliation grew fiercer and sweeter as his stage figures were grouped more effectively. His wit was enriched by use; Falstaff, Feste, Lear's Fool were created, so many new observation-points from which the interplay of human motives could be watched. Clowns with their knowledgeable dullness, fools with their minds half burnt out with the speed of their wit, were as perspective glasses, through which the actions of more ordinary people might be seen, at times seen through: they took upon themselves the mystery of things as though they were the poet's spies. Shakespeare quickly learned how a change of disposition through love or mirth or fear reveals a new world, its forms previously unknown. Now a torch burns brighter, now a candle goes out. We must never forget that entertainment, strong-pulsed intimate entertainment,

was Shakespeare's first and last interest. He resembled Chaucer and Dickens rather than Spenser or Milton or Wordsworth. Of his private relations we know little, but his professional ones must have been intimate almost to the point of privacy. His intelligence developed like that of his own fools in the continuous intercourse of entertainer and entertained; wisdom came of intense and incessant collaboration alike with colleague and patron. His art and his craft advanced together step by step; with the appearance of Hamlet, his greatest character, comes the brilliance of the play scene; the power in the conception of the mad Lear is matched by the power in presentation of those scenes in which the mad hold wise discourse with the mad. Virtue and virtuosity fed one another, his mind and hand went always together, and from the continuous practice of his art presently emerged the tragedies, its most memorable examples.

Perhaps the contemporaries whom he excited and fascinated thought of him chiefly as an entertainer, of infinite charm, variety, and power. Great art, like great wine, requires time for full maturing and Shakespeare's absolute supremacy came later. The full apprehension of his wisdom, of that depth of intuitive knowledge claimed for him by Pope in a single brilliant sentence and later argued so fervently on his behalf by Coleridge, is the fruit of many years of affectionate intimacy, it is not to be achieved in one or two generations.

For nearly 200 years after his death the comedies seem to have been most highly valued, or at any rate best understood. The tragedies were as often acted, and, no doubt, as often read. But the mutilation of *King Lear* as well as the general tendency of criticism from Rymer to Johnson suggest a somewhat qualified appreciation. Dr. Johnson's notable and vehement preference for the comedies indicates that in spite of his splendid praise—perhaps, all things considered, the most generous praise that Shakespeare ever received—he thought of him rather as a great entertainer than as a writer of deep insight. So at least I venture to interpret Johnson. It is not easy to forget that he made it a reproach that

He [Shakespeare] sacrifices virtue to convenience, and is so much more careful to please than to instruct, that he seems to write without any moral purpose . . . he makes no just distribution of good or evil, nor is always careful to show in the virtuous a disapprobation of the wicked; he carries his persons indifferently through right and wrong, and at the close dismisses them without further care, and leaves their examples to operate by chance.

This passage and the range of Johnson's critical assumptions are well known and are now properly appreciated; we understand, if we do not altogether share, his critical outlook. Our view of the relation between morality and art is not his. We incline to see art as exploring rather than as expounding, as correcting our behaviour by showing us the character and quality of our acts, not by directly telling us what we should do.

Our increased understanding of tragedy may not be unconnected with the greater claims we are inclined to make upon poetry—indeed, upon all the arts. We rely in a way that is, I think, without precedent upon art to make our nature and our situation in the world clearer and more intelligible. We are learning to reckon upon art at least as much as upon natural science to give us knowledge and much more than upon philosophy to give us wisdom.

It is by no means entirely for the reasons offered by Matthew Arnold nor quite in the way he would have expected that we have 'turned more and more to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us'. Whether or no we think that our religion and philosophy alike are 'but the shadows and dreams and false shows of knowledge', it is certain that our belief in the importance of art in private and in public life has sensibly deepened. This is no doubt in some measure due to the influence of Arnold himself, but probably a re-examination of the critical work of Coleridge has done more to give us this fuller understanding of the function of art in the economy of the human spirit. There is, indeed, today some danger that as the age of scholasticism made too much of logic and the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries leaned too heavily upon the physical and biological sciences, so we may lay upon art burdens which its nature unfits it to bear. 'Art', declared the late R. G. Collingwood, 'is the community's medicine for the worst disease of the mind, the corruption of consciousness.' True and wise; but one must not forget that art is the supreme and characteristic achievement of the imagination and can become a trap if in its name we deny that totality of experience of which it is at once the illuminator and interpreter. Man without art is eyeless; man with art and nothing else would see little but the reflections of his own fears and desires.

It is natural that we who have seen translated into actual history with all the world for stage and all its men and women for players the varying prophecies of doom and apocalypse uttered in the last century by men such as Kierkegaard, Marx,

Nietzsche, and Dostoevsky, not to speak of lesser noises in the night like our own Thomas Carlyle, should turn especially to that art which is at once typical, most rare, and most profound, the tragic art of Shakespeare, familiar and challenging. His plays are now fully alive in our minds, where they move easily, well-breathed by three and a half centuries of acting, enjoyment, and criticism. Our awareness of the world is in part qualified by Shakespeare, his works have become means by which we shape, and often terms in which we communicate, our experiences to ourselves and to others.

An examination, however slight, of the modern attitude towards tragedy is a formidable task. Yet it presses upon us; today we seem naturally to express our sense of the self-frustration and wasteful futility around us by reference to the patterns of experience found in tragic art. It has been said that what in a former age was known as a sense of sin has been replaced by a sense of tragedy. Perhaps this implies that we tend to find self-division and conflict in every phase and moment of our lives, and that this self-division is not to be accounted for in terms of any over-riding disability of our own but is implicit in all our experience and becomes explicit whenever we are confronted by a demand which we are either too weak to carry out or too stupid to understand. In the tragic mirror we receive a glimpse of a world of infinite possibilities seen clearly only as they fail of realization; our solitude aches at us in a world crowded with company. Either, as in *Hamlet*, we fail to break out from solitude or, as in *Othello*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth*, we are forced into it. Our very nature is double, is self-contradictory. It is as though we were at the same time two different kinds of being embodied in the same personality, looking for ever and in vain for a context in which both sets of conflicting tendencies could be fulfilled. Like Hamlet, like Macbeth, we are confronted with a situation which makes mutually incompatible demands upon us. Sometimes we die having chosen wrongly, sometimes not having chosen at all. Our wills and imaginations are in conflict, both are mocked by our judgement. Those nearest to us, where we have garnered up our hearts, where we must live or not at all, the mere effusion, it may be, of our proper loins, either destroy us or are the means by which our enemies destroy us or persuade us to destroy ourselves. A tragic situation is one in which this duplicity has a disastrous outcome; a tragic character one in whom the disaster is so intensely felt and expressed that the spectator's imagination is wrought to a high pitch of sympathy with him.

The tragic outlook makes also towards some comfort. The contradiction is itself contradicted and the disaster is never the whole story; ruin means nothing without the knowledge of what it is that is ruined. In the foggy 'no-man's land' where the two worlds which we find ourselves inhabiting meet and jostle, where tragic choice is made in the teeth of tragic necessity, we see clearly even if we walk darkly. Such contrasts as we find in *Hamlet* between the admirable excellence of human capacity and the utter futility of human action are registered where every day we turn the leaf to read them. But so we learn to read at all; in a cruel school, from a bloody hornbook.

Whether all disastrous situations in which we find ourselves have in them a discoverable element other than pain and loss is not simply a tragic question, one that poetry can answer; it is a metaphysical one. Art, after all, simply presents to us an imagined situation which corresponds to the deepest stirrings of the artist's mind; it rather offers us his questions than answers our own. The fool perhaps knows the truth about Lear, but his own conundrum, the moving query mark that goes in and out with him, challenges a wider conjecture.

Since in great tragedy we find, amongst other things, our own reflections, the echo of our own beliefs, some see in Shakespeare's tragedies a strong undercurrent of Christian thought and sentiment. Though this question is not a main concern with us here, perhaps something should be said about it. Clearly the tragedies do handle what is in some sort a religious situation, a crux familiar to Christian apologists, the problem of evil. They show us evil suffered and wrought by man in a way that recalls a characteristic Christian view of this problem. In this view, evil, pain, loss, the frustration of excellent things and high purposes, cannot be dealt with in terms of this world only. If the world is no more than it appears to be to common sense or to science, then Christianity has little to say about evil that is really illuminating. It is only on the assumption that the picture of the universe given by revelation is a true one, that it is much more complicated and perhaps also in some ways much simpler than it appears to be, that room can be found for the death of death and the overcoming of evil. The space-time universe is not extensive enough for eternal life; the doctrines of the communion of saints and the resurrection of the body require a larger context. Such a context is provided by the Christian tradition and accepted by the faithful.

Tragedy likewise presents to us evil in a fashion in which it

can be contemplated without despair. This is in part because of the distancing quality of art. Since the plays are things imagined and not members of the real world we are not confronted with a real problem, one about which we have to take action; they come as near to us as real life but affect us differently. We have only to watch. The material selected and shaped by the tragic artist never shows pain and degradation unrelieved. As suggested earlier, excellence is perhaps most effectively contemplated in a tragic form. Since we are not numbed by actual disaster or bewildered by personal inadequacy, we can watch goodness on the stage emerging from the very evil which destroys it. Tragedy gives us an imagined world, as Christianity claims to offer us a real world, in which the strangling futilities of life have room enough to die.

In spite of the conventions of the theatre, even those of the modern theatre, tragedy is the most vividly life-like of all the arts. It is the most powerful and the most relentless. No doubt this is partly because the action is played out before us by living men and women, because we actually hear enchanting speech, see real limbs and faces. But its greatest power seems to lie in the fact that we cannot escape it; during its allotted two or three hours it seems as inevitable as life. Like life it comes upon us in its own way, not in ours. We have more control over the way in which we contemplate the spatial arts, painting, sculpture, architecture. We can interrupt our contemplation when we will. Sometimes a single glance will serve to recreate a familiar painting in our minds. A book we can take home and read when and how we choose, it is at our disposal. But the acted play—we can of course, if we choose, *read* a play in our own time—that is being performed in front of us, we cannot halt. The earlier scenes, events, and speeches we can recall only in memory. As in real life we cannot deal a second time with what has become the past. A play imposes itself on us in its own time, it makes demands on us and goes its way, not abiding our question but insisting on its own.

Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies alike bestow on us what perhaps we may be allowed to call a kind of freedom. The comedies confer upon us the enfranchisement of beginnings; the tragedies that of endings. In the former the facts outrun the fantasies, the world is fairer than our dreams, and new human relationships are built up to the sound of lute and laughter. Love changes lives even with the changing of eyes.

Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight?

There are no doubt tricks in the world, the course of true love never did run quite smooth and mankind in love is as full of folly as of poetry, or the play would never achieve five acts. Time, having been annihilated as the old world changes into a new, is as suddenly promoted again to his old tyranny. For love begets longing and Time 'trots hard with a young maid between the contract of her marriage and the day it is solemnized: if the interim be but a se'nnight, Time's pace is so hard that it seems the length of seven year'. But at the end of the comedy there is the promise of a new happiness.

If the romantic comedies let us loose in a world made free by the joyful establishment of new human relations, the tragedies confer upon us a different kind of freedom, the freedom of endings, when judgement at last becomes possible and we can discern the qualities of men and their actions. While there is yet life and the hope of life, while we can still cry to ourselves that our false love is true, or that our dead love breathes, uncertainty and ignorance still rend and crucify us. But when all's done deception ends too.

There the action lies

In his true nature.

It is said that in the anaesthesia that goes with drowning a man has at last leisure to review his life and to achieve a kind of unity with his own past. All then falls into its own place. So in Shakespeare's tragedies the sorrow with which we are infected brings a kind of revelation at the end of the play. It begins indeed, long before the end, but we see clearly at the close what but for its passing we could not have seen at all. Without loss there is no depth of understanding. Alike in art and in life there are some kinds of victory we can win only in the midst of defeat.

For instance, the nature of Desdemona's love for Othello, in virtue of which she lives so movingly in our minds, shows more clearly as we watch its frustration than in its early romantic bravery. The moth of peace becomes a warrior, first fair, then unhandsome, then defeated. In her own words:

That I did love the Moor to live with him,  
My downright violence and storm of fortunes  
May trumpet to the world: my heart's subdued  
Even to the very quality of my lord:  
I saw Othello's visage in his mind,  
And to his honours and his valiant parts  
Did I my soul and fortunes consecrate.  
So that, dear lords, if I be left behind,

A moth of peace, and he go to the war,  
 The rites for which I love him are bereft me,  
 And I a heavy interim shall support  
 By his dear absence. Let me go with him.

Her pathetic apology for the strangeness of her failing lord shows the same love pained and bewildered but unchanged in essence:

Something sure of state,  
 Either from Venice or some unhatch'd practice  
 Made demonstrable here in Cyprus to him,  
 Hath puddled his clear spirit; and in such cases  
 Men's natures wrangle with inferior things,  
 Though great ones are their object. 'Tis even so;  
 For let our finger ache, and it indues  
 Our other healthful members even to that sense  
 Of pain. Nay, we must think men are not gods,  
 Nor of them look for such observancy  
 As fits the bridal. Beshrew me much, Emilia,  
 I was, unhandsome warrior as I am,<sup>1</sup>  
 Arraigning his unkindness with my soul;  
 But now I find I had suborn'd the witness,  
 And he's indicted falsely.

and finally:

O good Iago,  
 What shall I do to win my lord again?  
 Good friend, go to him; for, by this light of heaven,  
 I know not how I lost him. Here I kneel:  
 If e'er my will did trespass 'gainst his love  
 Either in discourse of thought or actual deed,  
 Or that mine eyes, mine ears, or any sense,  
 Delighted them in any other form,  
 Or that I do not yet, and ever did,  
 And ever will, though he do shake me off  
 To beggarly divorcement, love him dearly,  
 Comfort forswear me! Unkindness may do much;  
 And his unkindness may defeat my life,  
 But never taint my love.

The pearl that the base Indian threw away gleams most brightly as it falls; its full value is not known until it has ceased to gleam at all.

This gain from loss, this illumination by means of darkness, simply presents in little the constellation of ironic contradictions amidst which we live. Tragedy reflects the ambiguous structure

<sup>1</sup> Echoes 'O my fair warrior'. *Othello*, II. 1. 183.



of human nature, set in a world of paradox. It is a true mirror, presenting to us in ordered, memorable shape what we have hitherto, from time to time, confusedly surmised. Tragedy holds us because it makes coherent and imaginable the truth about the mortality of men and the failing of their loves. The truth, if not the whole truth. Repeatedly it reminds us of the inescapably contradictory facts of our condition. These facts are of many kinds. Most notable perhaps is that inner self-division so characteristic of figures like Hamlet and Macbeth. Others equally obvious are the conflict between man and the social organism of which he is a member and on which he is dependent—in one way this is seen in *Hamlet*, more clearly and simply in *Timon* and *Coriolanus*—the banishment plays; the flat plain contrast between the good and the bad, the best and worst of mankind, between Desdemona and Iago, between Cordelia and Goneril; the different capacities for good and evil in the same man—between the arch and knowing jocularly of Gloucester's 'though this knave came something saucily into the world before he was sent for, yet was his mother fair; there was good sport at his making and the whoreson must be acknowledged',<sup>1</sup> and his later words: 'If I die for it, as no less is threatened me, the king, my old master, must be relieved.'<sup>2</sup>

The world of our everyday experience shows not less striking contrasts. The natural order, which so fascinated poets in the early nineteenth century, gives back the bewilderment of its observers. At times strange and hostile and alien, at times kindly and pleasing, yielding us harvest and afflicting us with tempests and dearth, it is both a waste land where we wait, longing for the coming of rain, and one capable also of a stern Wordsworthian tenderness. Nature can be at once a lost paradise which we long to inhabit in the enjoyment of an earlier intimacy of childhood and legend and an element which we exploit so ruthlessly that we virtually destroy it. And at last it will kill us, either by some violent catastrophe or by involving us in its own death. For man, self-conscious creative spirit, capable of choosing and of loving, is cradled in a universe in which one day life will be insupportable and his history will then be ended. Meanwhile the intense life of imagination and understanding feeds on and transforms the world of time and space; mind devours and digests into knowledge and art the years that destroy it. Out of the deaths that nature gives us and that we give each other we make memorials, and from such contrasts and contradictions as these we build

<sup>1</sup> *King Lear*, I. I. 21-24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 3. 19-21.

the great unifications of science and art. Knower and known change one another incessantly. Everyone can appreciate how dependent we are on the external world for the terms and symbols by means of which we shape and communicate our awareness of self and not-self—the movements of our inner life. It has yielded us alphabets of sight and sound with which we character our mythologies, those mythologies, public and private, which are at once the evidence and fulfilment of our being. And we repay to the outer world that unity and coherence which its own details have helped us to find and establish within.

Creative art is a species of contemplation that records its own activity. By its means mankind at once remembers and prophesies. Tragedy embodies our most intimate memories and our most urgent prophecies; that deep knowledge of ourselves which, living in the everyday world, we forget.

Perhaps all art strives towards that intense unification which tragedy imposes on the supreme contradictions of experience. Sometimes it is itself one of the contradictory elements. A painting of a corner of a Paris slum, of a sordid Camden Town bedroom, turn to life and delight what seem their mere opposites. Similarly we know how the enchantment of song can arise from a sorrow which cannot be quenched but which can be transformed. Art cannot restore life but at its touch the dead undergo a sea-change, coral for bones, for the sightless eyes pearls.

Shakespeare's awareness of his imaginary world comes to us chiefly as mediated through the characters which his own sensibility devised or which it shaped and quickened from what he found in his sources. His impersonality, his self-suppression in the act of creation, shows itself in his capacity for emptying himself into these fictitious figures and enjoying their situation as it were from inside them. And that is how we receive him; in the men and women in whom he has lost himself.

The close study of Shakespeare's tragic characters is now a little unfashionable, yet his characters are his greatest achievement. As in no other kind of art we are shown a situation as reflected in a suffering human consciousness. The intense self-awareness of his heroes, their developing understanding of themselves and their fate as the play moves on is immediately and vividly communicated to us, the spectators or readers. Most completely, as has been suggested above, during an actual stage performance when sight and sound reinforce the bare words and batter at our minds. To some extent this is the case also in the comedies, but to a much less degree. It is, on the whole, the

situation rather than a character's awareness of the situation that we have in the comedies and in all the earlier plays. The development of Shakespeare's power of exhibiting a character's inner life is one of the clear marks of his ripening art. It is rightly associated with tragedy, for self-knowledge is sharpened and deepened by pain.

In different degrees, in different plays, in accordance with our mood and experience, we tend to identify ourselves with the hero and to see much of the action through his eyes. The first character we know with this intimacy is Richard II, the last is Macbeth. Antony and Cleopatra are a special case. We see them rather as artists than as lovers. It is their loving rather than their love that we are shown. Of Shakespeare's love tragedies, *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello* show us love as a way of living, *Troilus and Cressida*—if it may here and in this connexion be spoken of as tragic—love as pleasure, *Antony and Cleopatra* love as art—perhaps craft is the better word.

In comedy it is impossible quite to achieve such dramatic intensity. It is usually under the pressure of great trouble or perplexity that we meet people real or imagined with true intimacy. Happiness, it would appear, renders us somewhat liable to illusion. In division and in loss we see more of each other's true nature, and even then we do not always win this knowledge at once.

And so it is a twofold initiation that we undergo when a tragedy works its full effect upon us. In the first place we are made free of the knowledge which those imaginary figures themselves seem to acquire. In our own minds they struggle and grieve and die. Tragedy is a shared death: shared both with the characters on the stage—for something in us dies and consents to die when they do—and with the other members of the audience. What we have in common with each other, as Hamlet, Lear, and Macbeth are multiplied in each of us, is more significant than what separates us. Not only on the stage but in the whole theatre do the plays come alive. And their characters live in us quite as intimately as do many of our friends. But of course quite differently. There is no reciprocity, for we do not live in them. We never wholly lose the knowledge that we are spectators. None of their actions done or undone can cause us remorse, we cannot directly blame ourselves for them. The actor but feigns death and the death concludes a life that is imaginary only, however deeply we may receive it. On these imaginary and tragic lives and deaths we feed and our own lives grow more intelligible to us as we accept this nourishment.

Not only are we made free of the wisdom which the poet has himself achieved under the pressure of creative writing, not only do we share the self-consciousness which his art has bestowed upon his characters, but we also discover ourselves afresh. This is so because tragic characters are at once unique and typical. Unique figures reflecting the personal sensibility of their maker, typical in that they represent those recurrent situations and those permanent structural elements of the human spirit which the poets are continually recovering for us from the wastage and loss of everyday life. In knowing Hamlet or Lear we know also something of ourselves.

But we find ourselves in yet another way. We are all guilty creatures when sitting at a play. We have not, like Claudius, to look upon the very image of our own misdoings in order to see the secret deaths we daily give each other re-enacted. Touched by great art—and not by tragic art alone, but by tragic art most strongly and most convincingly—we cease in the temporary release of that larger life to make terms with ourselves to maintain our self-respect, to try to persuade others that we are truly as our vanity would like them to think us, to build elaborate apologies for ourselves and our actions. With the disappearance of everyday life has gone the necessity—as it so often seems—of evading bitter self-knowledge. Moved by the shared catastrophe enacted in the public theatre we find out our own trouble, and finding it we begin perhaps to end it.

Shakespeare does not so much instruct us what to believe as show us in flashes what in fact we do believe. Under intense emotional pressure that makes no demands on us for action we catch glimpses of our own characters, we are exposed to ourselves. For all its intimacy and immediacy tragedy distances us so far from the pragmatic world that we can bear to look upon our own secrets—secrets of which both the world and ourselves are ordinarily quite unaware. The bewilderment of Hamlet, the agony of Othello, the anguish of Lear, the self-destroying struggles of Macbeth, at once stir us and teach us to sit still. Shakespeare's sensibility has met and kindled our own. Our deaths are very quiet.

Human suffering is one of the stock themes of tragedy. In real life, as we know, it is possible for people to be so damaged that they cease to be themselves, to be transformed beyond recognition by pain. That kind of suffering is not tragic, certainly

it is not characteristic of Shakespeare's mature tragedies, where pain is never employed to reduce characters to sheer brutality or to snivelling imbecility. Some of his contemporaries at times show us figures whose sufferings simply degrade them and signalize an enemy's victory. And we do feel that in *Henry VI* and *Titus* some of the scenes involve a kind of bear-garden technique: a ring of enemies baiting a man to death, the pitiless slaughter of a helpless boy, the exploitation of a sheer violence in tormenting for the purposes of entertainment. But Shakespeare soon discards all this.

The fact, however, that men are enormously vulnerable, can be mutilated in body and in spirit, is used in the tragedies with great effect and is a main element in the paradoxical pattern which they offer. It would be possible to describe the development of Shakespeare's tragic power with reference to this subject alone, from the early bear-garden business to *Lear* and *Macbeth*, where human vulnerability is shown as intimately related to the development or revelation of character. For development and revelation are the two principal functions of tragic suffering in Shakespeare, and it is this suffering, sometimes fruitful, sometimes illuminating, when deeply experienced by the audience, that makes the tragedies both a school of virtue and an initiation into the workings of the mind and heart.

Our awareness both of ourselves and of the world at large is intensified by confrontation with an unexpected or serious or painful situation. Our wits and imaginations alike grow more acute under difficulties. Happiness tends to be self-satisfying and self-losing, it is not so easy as misery to express directly in the greater poetry. When action, appropriate and immediate, can be taken, there is no check in the flow of our lives. But when we pause perplexed, troubled, irresolute, then questioning begins, and as we question we attempt to throw our discourse with ourselves into some shape. Our intimacy with *Hamlet* is due largely to the self-consciousness and self-preoccupation of the hero. His mind is divided by the incessant question he asks himself, not always in the same terms, but substantially the same question. He initiates action by apparently refusing it, his antic disposition sets in motion, beyond his deliberate contriving, just that succession of events which brings about the one set of conditions in which he can fulfil his almost blunted purpose. For *Hamlet*, and indeed *Claudius* also, is a defensive fighter. He must bring the fight towards himself, he cannot carry it to his enemy. We share the strain of his brooding questions and the

range of their implications, with him we are taken to the point where his query is answered by events and the door of the prison that was Denmark is opened.

Lear's vulnerability is involved with his capacity for growth. His giant pride is slain, the man remains; he is stripped of his knights, of his kingly additions, and his royalty becomes more apparent. Lear the king is lowest when at the height of his power and his pride; mad Lear is yet every tattered and naked inch a king; Lear the penitent finds again realm and daughter. Lear the king, Lear *furens*, Lear at Dover; it is a great trilogy played in three kingdoms. His capacity for suffering is an index of his capacity for growth, for self-transcendence. He does not, lobster-like, grow again the torn-off limb, but becomes another kind of being. And we after him change for a time our natures as we follow him into death's 'twilight kingdom'.

With Macbeth suffering brings knowledge, not moral growth, alike to him and to us. His vivid, tense imagination brings home his situation, recording the dreams that punctuate pain's slow anaesthesia; the delirious images of a life once brilliant moving to dusty death, to an extinction like that of a dead candle; becoming an actor's feigning, an idiot's babble. We mark the unarrested disintegration of a spirit that in slaying others has also slain itself. Macbeth sees the true nature of his murders, that all killing in this kind is a sort of suicide, and the nearer he moves to catastrophe the more clearly we see what has happened to him. And for a little while we are what he is.

These tragedies show us in each other's hands. Our enemies, and, more particularly, those whom we love, have an almost infinite power to do us hurt. There are no inherited taints, no entailed blood feuds descending from past generations and now due for settlement, nor do we find, as in Marlowe, efforts to transcend ordinary human limitations, to extend by prowess, wealth, knowledge or delight the normal measure of our days, the accepted bounds of our capacity for enjoyment. There is a certain ordinariness in the affairs of Shakespeare's greatest heroes. Lear's pride is gigantic, as is Macbeth's ambition; but the former, while yet armed with unrelinquished power, speaks of crawling unburdened towards death and of Cordelia's kind nursery. He knows that he is old—though not yet the real significance of old age—and that he must shortly die. Macbeth has bought and would wear golden opinions of all sorts of men.

The safety which he seeks and which the riddling equivocations of the witches seemed to guarantee was not itself abnormal despite the strangeness of its pronouncement. He knew well enough that one day he must die, and lamented the barrenness of his sceptre. His own mortality he had always assumed.

If comedy sports with human follies, tragedy mocks our strength and turns it to weakness. So Hamlet is hurt in his love for his mother and his father, perhaps for Ophelia, and Othello's love for Desdemona presents an immense target for the poisoned shafts of Iago. Lear and Gloucester are touched to the death through their affection for their children, their very virtue, flawed and blind, no doubt, but real, is turned against them. Macbeth, through his darling ambition and his power of will, is diminished and killed. Tragic virtues and tragic flaws are sometimes so close as to be indistinguishable; the characters are most vulnerable where they love most.

In the early histories, where tragic plot and character were first outlined, kings are the most powerful and the most vulnerable of men. Shakespeare had not yet developed love as a characteristic tragic *motif*. Kings, having most, had most to lose; it was they and their competing rivals who could most affect the lives of others and to whom most could happen. As Hamlet is most vulnerable in his sonship, Othello as husband, Lear in his fatherhood, so Henry VI and Richard II and John expose their royalty to treason, self-betrayal, and mischance. Loss of a kingdom was later replaced by the loss of the more private royalty of love. Crime feeds Richard III's ambitions at a lower rate than Macbeth's can command. The vaulting ambition that carried the latter to the throne cost him, long before he himself came to die, his dearest partner in greatness. The kind of success that their partnership achieved dissolved it and brought it to bankruptcy. His loss of her and of so much of himself mocked and sterilized his desired royalty. He exchanged his eternal jewel for the golden round. But Richard's eternal jewel burns in the crown of England. His sleeps no doubt are broken, but when he meets Richmond in battle his better part of man is still uncowed. He has not that sort of vulnerability that can make for growth either in knowledge or in moral stature. Despite the falling away of his followers and the shaking of his confidence he knows no real defeat save on the battlefield. Macbeth's life after his murder of Duncan was one long, constricting defeat which was ended by his last fight.

Kings served Shakespeare well. He learned to be a tragic

poet while dramatizing the royalty of England. In a sense all his tragedies are history, and the earlier histories are tragic, if not greatly tragic. In them we find ineptitude and wickedness alike leading to disaster, to the deaths of the leading characters, to the rending of England. Kings offered splendid raw material, they were tragedy ready-made. They were a special race of men owing their position to chance of birth, deriving their sanctions from the fact that they were consecrated beings. Representing in worldly affairs the authority of God, they seemed also His personal representatives on earth. Their sufferings recalled the sufferings of God incarnate. Between a king's divinity and his mortality was a relationship which involved a tragic contradiction. Death kept his bare court about their crowned and anointed temples, and imbecility, incompetence, or treason could waste or ravish the divinity that hedged a king. It was a divinity that could not only be lost, it could be stolen by a cutpurse of empire. The royal sanctity could be usurped and a successful crowned usurper offered again a mass of tragic possibilities.

Is it to consider too curiously to recognize as early as *Henry VI* some of the interests, somewhat obscurely foreshadowed it may be, which engaged Shakespeare in his prime? Certainly the crowned baby, King Henry, seems a long way from the crowned babyhood of Lear, and his youthful innocence remote from the aged innocence of Duncan, whose murder, yet but fantastical in Macbeth's mind, called up the image of pity as a naked new-born babe.

At least two types of character, which, greatly developed, are conspicuous in the later plays, already appear. The abdicator, recognizing his own inadequacy in the stress of the situation with which he is confronted, and the aggressor, the bold opportunist, eager to exploit the very situation which daunts the other.

Solitude, severance from one's fellows and at times from oneself, is the fate of heroes in tragedy. We may here distinguish two kinds of solitude. That of a villain, isolated in his self-esteem, loveless and efficient:

Then, since this earth affords no joy to me  
But to command, to check, to o'erbear such  
As are of better person than myself,  
I'll make my heaven to dream upon the crown,  
And, whiles I live, to account this world but hell,  
Until my mis-shaped trunk that bears this head  
Be round impaled with a glorious crown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> III *Henry VI*, III. 2. 165-71.



Gloucester, emerging from the bitterness and chaos of the Wars of the Roses, is in his solitude the forerunner of such great tragic solitaires and masters of aggression as Iago and Edmund, who avenge themselves on the world for their own disabilities by turning it into a desert, by infecting others with their own poison.

Richard II and Hamlet represent another type. The man who is unable or unwilling to break from his own interior world which is in part at least satisfying and pleasing. Richard cannot wake from his royal dreams, those musical alternations of grandeur and cold despair, to exercise the function to which his genuine royalty was born. Hamlet, complex and contradictory, is reluctant to break from the too-satisfying nutshell in which he could contentedly be bound and count himself a king of infinite space. Lover, prince, avenger, son, Denmark's heir, observer and commentator, these are for him but actions that a man might play; like Richard he finds acting easier than action.

And this eternal questioning, this unequal poise of will and circumstance, we find as early as in Henry VI himself. Not, indeed, from any great complexity of character, or depth of speculation, but simply that he has never found his place among events. King too young, mated with a worldling, holy amidst a ravening pack of royal and baronial brigands, peace-loving in a world torn by war, he longs for a cloister or a sheepfold. His tragic dilemma is apparent, even if his character is but rawly conceived. His situation is heavy with tragic possibilities that will be fully realized in later plays. In a world of fierce endeavour, of cunning and violence, he has no place; yet he was born to set things right. Already we are shown a man inhabiting two worlds simultaneously, at home in neither. In his reign the order and tradition for which he was responsible and which are embodied in his person collapse and the adventurous aggressors creep through the cracks; Beaufort, Suffolk, York, finally the full-fledged emergent from the world's confusion, Richard of Gloucester, in turn contend for mastery. In a troubled world any adventurer might hope to wear the crown or to wield its authority, and so through weakness and greed the splendid empire of Henry V falls apart. Shakespeare's first great theme was the dividing and diminishing of a kingdom. France falls off from England, whom Burgundy has betrayed. Talbot is deserted through the rivalry of Somerset and York; Lancaster falls apart, the royal House of England itself does sliver and disbranch. Beaufort against Humphrey of Gloucester, Suffolk and the

queen against the king, Humphrey, alone amongst the great men loyal and true, is isolated and killed. Beaufort and Suffolk perish and York, of the rival branch of the royal House, makes a push for power. But here, too, are the seeds of self-destruction, and Richard, the ill spirit of that unquiet time, having disposed alike of inconvenient Lancastrians and Yorkists, rules for a time over a tired and frightened land.

Duke Humphrey is the only representation in the early plays of a third kind of tragic solitary; the noble figure, who, like Othello, Lear, and Macbeth, begins in full communion with his fellows, filling an honourable position, and who as the play proceeds is forced into isolation by the movement of the tragedy. But Humphrey is in a tragic situation only, he has not range or intensity enough to engage our minds as a genuine tragic character. By a reach of fantasy, Eleanor his wife may be seen to anticipate some of the ambition of Lady Macbeth and some of the habits of the witches.

In these early histories neither time nor troubles reveal characters or promote development. Virtually Shakespeare is still simply the entertainer. He is experimenting here, as in the earliest comedies, in the business of stage entertainment, in devices to catch and to hold an audience. His problems are to dramatize whatever he found in his sources, chronicle, tradition, or play, to present a mass of English history suitably organized for presentation on the stage. He begins and ends where he can. He does not, as in the tragedies, choose deliberately the closing period of a man's life and show how events, in part his own fault, in part that of others, in part mere chance happenings, concur in his destruction. We learn much of the possibilities of drama, little of those of human life. Although the turncoats Burgundy and Clarence and Warwick change sides, their changing of allegiance marks no change in their characters. We watch and are excited by the turn of events but do not ourselves turn with them.

With *Richard II*, wherein the closing events of the hero's life are shown to be also the beginning of a century of troubles for England, we find the first touches of tragic quality. Shakespeare's poetry has found for itself a deeper source, and what has been, on the whole, description now becomes expression. Richard, unlike his predecessors, does not simply describe his situation and his feelings, he expresses them, and we begin to share his life, not simply to note it. It is a movement towards tragic self-consciousness. Pain and indecision reveal the man, his

pride in royalty cancelled by his ineptitude in action. He is trapped by his own imagination, as a man may be who is full of poetry but lacks the will and the skill to make poems. As the king's fortunes sink our sympathy with him arises. He lives in our imagination in a way that, except for a line or two, happens to no earlier character.

But for tragedy this is not enough. Self-consciousness is conditioned by its world of discourse, it must have a fair field in which to move. Mind lives in a context of minds. Much of the importance of Shakespeare's minor characters consists in their providing such a context. Spectators are much more intensely aware of hero-characters than of others, but they are also aware of a world which cannot be identified with the outlook of any one character, a shared world, in which the characters meet and modify each other's privacy. The world of Hamlet the prince is only a part of that presented to us when we watch the play. There is a world of historical and geographical reference that offers a fit setting for the tragic events and the tragic speculation. Centred in Denmark our minds move to Wittenburg and Paris, England and Norway and Poland and, by remoter allusion, Bethlehem. Airs from Heaven and blasts from Hell fan us. The time-span is thirty years or thereabouts. Thirty years back to the day Hamlet was born and the clown became a gravemaker and the elder Hamlet defeated Norway. The ghost rouses the echo of a cock-crow that has sounded since the beginning of our era.

The development of tragic self-consciousness moves along with this capacity for setting the characters in an ampler, more meaningful, more richly furnished world. One of the great expansions of the world as mirrored in the theatre comes with the introduction of characters who, while involved in the fabric of the main action, have a point of view which traverses that of all the other characters: the semi-independent observers. And here Falstaff, whom we think of as a great comic character, has his place in the development of Shakespeare's tragedy. He has added a new dimension to the English stage and enhanced our sense of its possibilities. The world of Bolingbroke, now king, of Hotspur, of the Prince, exists also for Falstaff. But it looks quite different to him. Where they are entangled in the meshes of their own conflicting claims and interests he can see clearly. He has indeed claims and wants of his own but they are quite different from those of prince and noble. His desires are for luxury, ease, and company, and all experience is meat for

his wit. Those of the world of affairs see him only as a loose, amusing social vagabond. Some despise him, others dislike him. His prince, a picture of a man at home in all places, enjoys his company which, however, he intends when necessary to forswear. But he sees them with a kind of disinterestedness, they are at once familiar and remote—though he is willing enough to exploit them for his own purposes none of the things they want mean much to him. Honour, regiment, fame, on these they fix their eyes. He has the freedom, the clarity of vision of one who is neither rival nor competitor. He is one of the first of Shakespeare's figures which can be said to be that of a man of genius. For all his ribaldry and corruption he is nearer than anyone else in the play to the contemplator—perhaps to the artist. It is not only the new social elements that enrich *Henry IV*, the presentation of a more multitudinous and many-levelled world. These are mere additions. Falstaff is a multiplier. As in varying degrees with Ulysses, and with Hamlet, in watching Falstaff we are watching one who is a great observer of men and manners, his notes and queries are at our service. So the plays about Henry IV, although in themselves hardly tragical at all, dealing as they do with the unification of England under a new dynasty, are most important as steps towards the maturer tragedies.

The Bastard in *John* is, in a way, Falstaff's forerunner. Although more deeply involved in the world of war and politics in England and France, his also is a disinterested outlook. He prefers the honour of bearing his father's name to his land and his mother's reputation. Disabled by birth from rivalry with the king he is content to serve him as a loyal kinsman. Alike in wit and valour he is the first man in the play yet seeks nothing for himself. On kingly policy and on commodity and the way of the world, he is a commentator. Like an artist he can generalize and typify the particular.

I have now to speak a word or two on the comedies in this respect; so little indeed that I am almost ashamed that you should be troubled with it, though I believe what I have to say to be relevant in illustrating the gradual emergence in Shakespeare of the tragic idea.

As has been already suggested, in the comedies we see arising a new world of human relationships, a world rich in promise of fulfilment. But there is usually some suggestion that this new ordering of the world rests on a basis of destruction. A set of pre-existing relationships perish as the new are born. It would

be possible perhaps to express this by saying that love destroys or threatens or impairs friendship. What was previously a world of delight and satisfaction loses some of its validity and falls into abatement and low price.

The experiment of the young men in *Love's Labour's Lost*, their attempt to live a life of learning, friendship, and seclusion collapses as the princess and her ladies arrive 'on serious business craving quick dispatch'. One set of figures breaks up and new measures are to be danced. The schoolgirl friendship of Hermia and Helena is threatened and interrupted by the fantastic complications of the love theme in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and their quarrel flashes like summer lightning in the woods near Athens. Claudio's comradeship in arms with Benedick does not bless him from a challenge, and there is a real sense in which Bassanio is lost to Antonio by the marriage that the merchant has risked and spent so much to bring about. The best illustration of this would be in *Romeo and Juliet*, if we could for a while treat this play, not as a tragedy—indeed, none of the characters is of tragic stature in whose experiences we can share intimately—but as a comedy turned by ill chance and excess into tragedy, dying of its own too much. So we might take notice that the love of Romeo and Juliet costs Mercutio his life, he and his friendship die together in the world where new love has set abroad an old feud. Only in *As You Like It* is the loss pure gain. Here the quarrel between the brothers is healed by love, and Oliver undergoes a kind of conversion brought about by Celia, the forest of Arden, a lioness, and a snake.

The most damaging of the losses sustained in Shakespeare's comedies is that of the later Antonio, the one in *Twelfth Night*, that play so rich in virtuous sea-captains. He, poor gull, thinks himself denied in his hour of need by the boy he has befriended, and too minor a figure perhaps to deserve so grave a note, is at last left solitary when Sebastian, not treacherous but fulfilling his allotted role, is married to Olivia.

For purposes of this lecture the general fact that nearly all the comedies have a setting touched with seriousness, take their rise from a situation which offers an active menace to some of the characters, need not be stressed. The threat to old Ægeon in *The Comedy of Errors*, the imbroglio in *The Two Gentlemen*, the menacing dilemma which appears to confront Hermia at the beginning of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the business of Oliver and the wrestler Charles, the conspiracy in *Much Ado* are a part of the variegated pattern of comedy even if death or dishonour

do appear to threaten some of the characters. Even in *Much Ado* none is of tragic stature.

Disguise is an important and frequent element in the comic dilemmas, the most usual form that of the girl disguised as a boy, played, of course, by a male actor. Much turns on this interesting, somewhat wearisome device. It begins in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, is increasingly and variously exploited in *The Merchant of Venice*, *As You Like It*, and, most elaborately, in *Twelfth Night*.

But whereas in comedy we have questions of identity, when taken up into tragedy these questions cease as a rule to be concerned with identity and relate to mistakes as to character. The comic involves failure to recognize persons, their sex or name, Portia or lawyer, Rosalind or Ganymede, Cesario or Viola. In tragedy the mistaking is more serious. 'Your name, fair gentlewoman?' asks Lear. He knows, of course, that her name is Goneril. That is all that he now does know about her. All his other knowledge was false. So Hamlet found that his mother had become his aunt, and that his uncle claimed to be his father. Sometimes the mistaking is tragically ironic.

'Are not you a strumpet?'

'No, as I am a Christian.'

'What, not a whore?'

'No, as I shall be sav'd.'

'I cry you mercy then:

I took you for that cunning whore of Venice  
That married with Othello.'

Or again

'Was Cressid here?'

'I cannot conjure, Trojan.'

'She was not, sure.'

'Most sure she was.'

'Why, my negation hath no taste of madness.'

'Nor mine, my lord: Cressid was here but now.'

'Let it not be believ'd for womanhood!

Think we had mothers; do not give advantage

To stubborn critics, apt, without a theme,

For depravation, to square the general sex

By Cressid's rule: rather think this not Cressid.'

'What hath she done, prince, that can soil our mothers?'

'Nothing at all, unless that this were she.'

This attachment of a wealth of meaning, a passion of change, to

a question of identity is exemplified in two moments in *Twelfth Night*, a play which retains and uses to the full the devices and conventions of romantic comedy although almost certainly later in date than *Troilus* and *Hamlet*. These two moments are touched with tragic quality, in a different setting they would actually be tragic. Here the one technique can be seen emerging from the earlier, the baby figure of tragedy dandled on a comic lap. On one of these moments I have commented already, the apparent desertion of Antonio by one whom he thinks to be Sebastian; a misunderstanding which for a moment seems heart-changing treachery. The other is when later in the play Orsino thinks that Viola as Cesario has betrayed his trust and wooed Olivia falsely, and Olivia fancies her to be Sebastian and too fearful to claim her as his wife. Viola is, of course, never a tragic character, but she twice finds herself in rehearsal for such a part. In this play, too, the conflict between the ways of life represented respectively by Malvolio and by Sir Toby and the lighter people bites deeper than mere jesting.

One sometimes wonders whether a later age than our own, in which perhaps the sense of perplexity and trouble is less immediate or has taken different forms, may see in Shakespeare's last plays a resolution of our self-division and self-frustration more profound than that in the tragedies. In these brilliant fantasies of the Blackfriars we no longer find self-knowledge under the ribs of death but in the patient endurance of time. The theme of Odysseus is here and the return home after long voyage through strange seas: the return home to one's true self, the return also of lost love and the lost children its fruit, and the readiness for death. Every third thought is of the grave and pardon is the word for all.

Here events are shown, working in a mingled pattern of realism and drama, in which more generations than one are concerned. We have had, of course, in all the tragedies later than *Julius Caesar*—except possibly *Antony*, but certainly including *Othello*—amongst the other conflicts, that between an elder and a younger generation. It is not always the principal issue, but it is always one of them. Son and mother are confronted in *Hamlet* and *Coriolanus*, father and daughter in *Othello*—not very powerfully—and in *Lear*, where also there is a son-father conflict. Innocent age confronts younger ambition in *Macbeth*, where there are strange echoes in Lady Macbeth's

‘Had he not resembled  
my father as he slept, I had done’t.’

The false heir casts out the true one and Macbeth is virtually a parricide.

But in the latest plays children born during stress of ill fortune and, sometimes, ill weather, grow up and give a new life and direction to the plot. Time, irreversible, non-repetitive, is here the healer and quickener. We enjoy the double freedom of both beginnings and endings, each grows from the other. New life begins with marriage for the young, with reconciliation for the old. The endings are not the death-endings of tragedy but the endings of quarrels, of misunderstandings, of sorrows. Such deaths as we have are casual, without significance, for these plays are not about death. If death was the revealer of values in the tragedies, it is now time, in tragedy the separator and destroyer, that brings out the quality of experience. Time teaches the old to forgive and restores their love; to the young it brings faith, serene and exciting. The paradoxes here are quieter and sweeter than in tragedy. The intimately linked contrast-identities are those between chastity and fertility, sleep and waking, life and dream.

But still to us today the source of the tragedies is more apparent. We have been there and we know. The others are yet remoter visions from which of necessity we rouse ourselves and when we wake we cry to dream again.





RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE PRESENT  
STATE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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*Read 17 May 1950*

WHAT is to be done with all this learning of ours? It is easier to elaborate a question of this kind than to answer it. Nevertheless I hope you will not think me over-ambitious or even impertinent in choosing to put before you today, not a piece of detailed research, but some general considerations affecting the future of historical studies. In venturing upon such large matters, may I remind you of the concluding words of our President's Address to us last summer? These words seemed to me to show that scholars of greater authority than mine were exercised over many of the issues which are troubling me. I therefore felt that here in this room I might try at least to give precision to some of my own doubts.

Let me say at once that I am not approaching the fundamental problem of the nature of historical knowledge. I am in good company if I evade a master problem of this kind, since nearly all English historians have evaded it. They may have been wise to do so; hitherto we have had no satisfactory solution propounded to the problem either by the few trained philosophers who have also been historians or by the smaller number of trained historians who have also been philosophers.

I realize that few questions are answered merely by deciding not to take notice of them, and that I must be making important assumptions about the nature of historical knowledge in general when I speak of the particular difficulties confronting historians today. Nevertheless, it is possible to follow up an inquiry to a point short of first principles, and indeed the ultimate philosophical questions about history may come a little nearer to solution or, at all events, to formulation, if historians are clear about what they are attempting to do, and what obstacles they find in their way.

I may also say that the questions I want to discuss have not arisen out of day dreaming; they have been set to me, especially during the last ten years, from my own work. I have tried to

look at this work in the wider context of modern historical studies. Are such studies following the pattern set by our immediate predecessors, or has there been a certain shift of interest—even a different approach, and, if so, what technical problems are introduced by this change of emphasis?

I may begin with a fact so obvious, and, one might say, all pervading, that its significance is at time overlooked; the fact, which emerges from our own membership, that history has become a highly specialized discipline: historical research is a career for life, and historians are to be found mainly in universities and other places of learning. This association is relatively new, though there is a parallel to it in the longer association of historical studies with the great religious orders. It is, however, important to remember how much of our best historical writing, since English men of letters began to write in the vernacular, has come to us from scholars who did not work in universities and were not concerned with teaching. There was, as we know, a change in the latter half of the nineteenth century; even so, a large part of the best English historical work during the Victorian age was accomplished outside the universities and an eminent historian was less likely than he is today to hold an academic post or its equivalent in one of the great libraries or museums.

The change in the status of history and historians is part of a general transformation in the circumstances of professional work. More academic posts are open to historians; other professions give fewer opportunities of leisure for research. We no longer regard as desirable, or, at all events we are no longer able to maintain the tradition under which rich men, or moderately rich men, furnished with ability and living peaceably in their habitations, are free to transmit and enlarge an inheritance of art or learning. In any case the requirements of a historian make a more exclusive or exacting claim upon his time. It is a more laborious task now than it was for a Macaulay or an Acton to reach the unworked borderline of a subject, and the journey through the known to the unknown may involve cutting one's way through a tangle of undergrowth.

The advantages of time and quiet, which even today a scholar possesses in such large measure, must be bought, like everything else, at a certain price. The price is often said to be exclusion or remoteness from the world of affairs—from those very things which a historian sets out to study and to describe. There are, indeed, in an academic career no great risks, no great responsibili-

ties of a practical kind; there is less scope, perhaps, than in some professions for nobility and less temptation to baseness. On the other hand, the quiet tenour and sheltered routine of academic life may be deceptive. More goes on in a university—as more went on in Jane Austen's country towns—than meets the eye of casual observers. It is, however, true that history written in academic surroundings suggests at times Wordsworth's definition of poetry as emotion recollected in tranquillity, with the important qualification that the historians have never felt the emotion, and are merely trying to reconstruct its external setting. There is no sombreness, no tragedy about their work. It does not ring true, as Thucydides and Clarendon ring true.

The failure of historians to comprehend or at least to represent the more terrible virtues and the more terrible vices is not as obvious today as it was thirty years ago—when one could read, for example, book after book about the Norman Conquest without realizing that it was a cruel act of force and not just a complicated transfer of real property. Many of our historians have had direct experience of battle: every one of us has lived under the shadow of aggression. Furthermore, there are hours now in which we fear that these shapes of violence and sudden catastrophe will loom ever larger until the last fires burn all. If by good fortune such forecasts are not realized, a happier age than ours will still have to solve the problem of preventing history from becoming the talk of a long academic afternoon.

I will ask you to allow me to return in a different context to the importance of retaining a sense of the heroic—perhaps I should say a sense of fate—in our historical studies. For the moment I would like to refer to an assumption which has tended to gain acceptance from the fact that history is now predominantly an academic study. We have assumed—I might say that we have drifted into the assumption—that history is a kind of hieratic language, and that only the study of the remoter past can be admitted to the status of academic inquiry. Collingwood, for example, one of the few English scholars of our time to look seriously into the character and implications of historical knowledge, concentrated his attention almost entirely upon the past of which the historian could have no personal memory and about which he could not question actors or eye-witnesses.

Nevertheless, we may not write history only to reveal the distant past to the present; we may also write it in order to record our own present or 'near present' for the future. Until

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the larger part of the finest historical writing fell within this second category. The balance has inclined differently in the last two hundred years or so, and the change of emphasis has been most marked in the century and a half since the death of Gibbon. The reasons are clear. Our predecessors of two and three centuries ago devised new methods of inquiry—perhaps it is better to say that they enlarged and deepened existing methods—to such an extent that they obtained results which were novel and indeed astonishing. These new lights were turned, at first, as everyone knows, mainly on the ancient world. Then the study of history moved forward through the Christian centuries. Historians gave these centuries names—names descriptive of actual features of the past, and not derived from interpretations of the book of Daniel or anticipations of the Last Judgement.

I need hardly remind you that as early as the reign of James I English historians had begun, a little hesitantly, to speak in the vernacular of a 'middle age'. About two hundred years later they had delimited a 'renaissance' only to find, as their studies continued, that the word was a dangerous one and that perhaps the most important of these periodic revivals had taken place earlier than they had believed. At all events, between 1700 and 1900 the past of the human race was remapped until a schoolboy could learn more than King Alfred knew of the early history of Wessex or more than St. Louis knew of the First Crusade.

We are so much under the influence of the great historians of the last two centuries, so near to the first intellectual excitement of turning the beams of light to periods of the distant past, that we have hardly been aware of the extent to which scientific method can be used in the other type of historical work—the recording of the present and 'near present' for the future.

The direction of our academic interest, however, does not alone explain why we should have come almost to regard the recording of contemporary life as outside the province of a trained historian. I think that our judgement in the matter has been clouded by a confusion of thought over the so-called 'historical perspective'. Although it would be unfair to express this notion of a perspective solely in the paradox that a knowledge of the future is essential to an understanding of the past, we have inclined to believe that we cannot study an age unless we know 'what happened next'. In other words, we cannot study the past of yesterday because we do not know what will happen

tomorrow; we need a long series of yesterdays before we can weave them into the stuff of history.

Is this assumption valid? In one sense it is clearly not valid, or at all events, it is incomplete. The series of yesterdays runs backwards from any event to the remoter past as well as forwards to our own present time. We can therefore see the present as the culmination—until tomorrow—of all past yesterdays, even though we cannot see it in the perspective of times yet to come, the historical perspective of 'before' and 'after' in which we claim to see, for example, the fourteenth century.

What do we mean by speaking of a 'historical perspective' of 'before' and 'after' in which we should see the fourteenth century? Do we mean that we should try to place these years in a general context which we describe, somewhat loosely, as the 'historical process'? If this be our meaning, we assume that we have knowledge of this process; that we can describe it in terms of a sequence although we may not know the beginning and cannot know the end: that our metaphors such as 'unfolding' or 'developing', 'rising' or 'declining', assist us to comprehend a notion of purpose and fulfilment. The 'perspective' in this sense is the partial 'unfolding' of the purpose—the emergence of a pattern: the greater the span of time—assuming that we have sufficient factual evidence—the more clearly shall we see this pattern.

I cannot discuss here the philosophical implications of the view that there is in history a discernible pattern. The view is tenable. If we accept it we must accept also as the highest form of history something which is, one may say, 'non-representational' and abstract. This kind of history (it exists in Thucydides) may even seem to us to imply distortion of fact, just as non-representational art, until we realize its intention, may seem to imply distortion of fact or even inability to draw.

On the other hand, do we mean something simpler and, in Aristotle's language, less architectonic? Do we mean only that we must try to see the fourteenth century as contemporaries saw it? In this case, surely, the whole argument about a historical perspective collapses. Indeed, the notion of perspective in the sense of after-knowledge becomes an obstacle to understanding. We cannot see the events of the fourteenth century as contemporaries saw them because we know, and the contemporaries of Edward III did not know what would 'happen next'. We can see our own time as the men of the fourteenth century saw their time—that is to say, we can see it from a similar angle of view—

but we cannot get nearer than our present to their present. A few writers of high imagination may come very close to some of these distant presents which are now past. The description of the new church in William Morris's *The Dream of John Ball* is one such sudden flash of illumination; so, especially in a dramatized form, is Henry James's *The Sense of the Past*, yet in each case the writer is aware that he is dreaming, aware indeed with a sharp pain of separation that he cannot see things as they once were. So much of history is about dead men; they are very still and cold. It is of no avail to speak to them; the living who write about the dead feel the sadness of Vergil's line 'Tendebantque manus . . .', but the hands stretching out into the past without response are our own.

There is a third, and different answer to the question 'what do we mean by the "historical perspective"?' According to this answer, though perhaps it is, after all, only another way of describing the first answer—the search for a pattern—the historical perspective is an illusion. It may not be an illusion of escape; it may be our only way of realizing intellectually the full significance of present action, just as our eyes can observe the face of the sun only through a dark glass. Much of our modern interest in past history came into existence with the Romantic Revival; indeed, it is possible that, if history and literature had not taken somewhat divergent paths in our academic studies, we might regard Gibbon more definitely as one of the early figures of this Romantic Revival, writing in a style oddly like Hawksmoor's idiom a generation earlier in gothic architecture.

The romantic attitude towards the 'historical perspective' is also non-representational in essence, a non-rational, intuitive mode of comprehending the historical process. It may employ rationalized scientific methods to obtain the effects of distance and remoteness, but it goes beyond them. Perhaps I can illustrate from a contemporary example what I mean by describing both as historical and as non-representational this attempt to shut off the glare of familiarity in order that we may observe the penumbra of our own acts. Consider W. B. Yeats's lines on Byzantium:

The Emperor's drunken soldiery are abed;  
Night resonance recedes; night-walker's song  
After great cathedral gong;  
A starlit or a moonlit dome disdains  
All that man is,

All mere complexities. . . .  
At midnight on the Emperor's pavement flit  
Flames that no faggot feeds, nor steel has lit  
Nor storm disturbs. . . .<sup>1</sup>

There, indeed, is Byzantium as we must see it; seen from far away, in the historical perspective of many centuries, seen in the romantic measurement which adds strangeness to beauty. The flames are real; yet to the watchmen on any night in the reigns of the Comneni, there were no flitting fires, no hints of a thousand years to come, nothing more than a street-sweeper or a night-walker might see this very evening in the gutters of Piccadilly Circus.

At rare intervals of time, and in the greatest works of art and poetry, these three views of the historical perspective are reconciled; the abstract view which looks for a pattern; the deliberate effort to project oneself back into the past and to experience it as though it were present; the use of the past as a means of revealing to ourselves not necessarily the whole design of history, but the constant double significance of present action—that which we seem to be doing, and that which we are doing unknown to ourselves when, to take a most terrible example, we are acting as the soldiers who obeyed their orders at the Crucifixion. Nevertheless, the great artists or poets—Dante is perhaps the greatest of them—who have merged into one piercing light these separate colours in history have not themselves been historians and have not known the claims of historical perspective or even distinguished between degrees of 'pastness'.

I wish I could pursue this separate inquiry, but what I have said has been only a necessary digression in order to establish the case that there is nothing in the nature of historical study to limit the historian to the investigation and recording of periods which he can 'place' or name or review as the result of 'after-knowledge'. All the past is past; a thousand years are as yesterday, and yesterday as a thousand years. The limits are in the nature of the historian, and in the degree of his imaginative power. Moreover, unless we are aiming at a non-representational view of history, whether in images of fire or in equations, we are more likely to capture and to fix for posterity the historical moment of our own present than any of those other moments remote from us by such and such revolutions of the earth in its orbit round the sun. We know the difference between the years 1918 and 1920, 1938 and 1940;

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by permission of Mrs. W. B. Yeats from *Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats*.



we can only guess at the difference, for Frenchmen, between the years 1789 and 1791, or between 1811 and 1813. We know why people turn Communist; it is much less easy to know why they turned Moslem. In any case, as we move along the stream of time, 'after-knowledge' changes, and with it our interpretations of the distant past. We never see the past as 'a painted ship upon a painted ocean'. We see it as from an aeroplane one may catch glimpses of land under a break in the clouds. Already our definition of a 'middle age' comes near to including in it the men who first coined the term in Latin to describe what was to them something past and remote from their 'present'.

As far as I can judge, there is today a revival of interest in the kind of historical writing which was to a large extent neglected during the excitement of discovering distant centuries. This revival may be due, at least in part, to the fact that, like the age of the Peloponnesian war or the period between 1789 and 1815, the first half of the twentieth century has been so very clearly an age of the most far-reaching decisions. There have always been periods which have attracted special interest: their attraction has often been connected more with the quality and quantity of the source material than with the decisive character of events. Thus it would be hard to say that the age of Diocletian and Constantine was of less significance in world history than the age of Augustus, but the material for the study of the latter time is more extensive, and, by artistic standards, superior in quality.

It seems to me that the increased interest in contemporary history is as much related to the material as to the subject-matter. It is now possible to apply to the historical investigation of the immediate past nearly all the methods which have been elaborated for the study of the remoter past. Here, in fact, is one of the reasons for my own perplexity. The historian of the last fifty years, or of any part of them, is in the position of Midas. There is too much wealth open to him. He can attain standards of accuracy which must transform historical investigation as the microscope has transformed the study of living organisms. Thus, in the field of politics, international or domestic, it is possible to date events, and follow their sequence, not merely by the year or the month, but by the hour and the minute. This exact dating takes one beyond the establishment of an accurate chronology; it has, one might say, qualitative consequences, since a close examination of the sequence of events often leads to an understanding of motives and intentions

which might otherwise escape notice. The additional material does not merely give more detail; it may alter the whole picture.

Conversely, this improvement in the qualitative value, as well as in the quantity of the sources, enables the historian to be more critical of their total value, more conscious of the limitations of all history. Bismarck once said that he would not mind advancing the date at which the archives under his control were open to study.

As for using them [so Bismarck continued] some day as material of history, nothing of any value will be found in them. . . . Even the despatches which do contain information are scarcely intelligible to those who do not know the people and their relations to one another. In thirty years time, who will know what sort of man the writer himself was, how he looked at things, and how his individuality affected the manner in which he presented them.

Bismarck did not, in fact, open these archives to all comers; one reason why he depreciated their importance was that he wanted to discourage inquiry into them and to discount in advance interpretations which he did not wish historians to draw from them. Nevertheless, there is a warning in his words against making too high claims for any kind of history. When Napoleon described history as a 'fiction agreed upon' (if indeed he used those words) he knew even less than Bismarck about the development of historical method; his attempts to secure agreement to a fiction about his own career show the risks of trying to trick the historian. On the other hand, one's deepest scepticism about the truth of past history comes from an examination of the material available, at the highest level, for the history of events of which one has contemporary knowledge; the greater the amount of material, the more insistent are one's doubts.

Historians who have tasted this age of plenty do not willingly go back to an age of poverty or even of straitened circumstances in historical records; most students indeed who have had the advantage of writing from the wealth of contemporary and sub-contemporary material would lose confidence in their conclusions if they had to rely even by another 5 or 10 per cent. upon inference and approximation. At the same time the abundance of material sets a very serious problem and raises the question with which I began this lecture: what is to be done with all this learning of ours?

Let me take my own experience in producing, as a co-operative work, a collection of British diplomatic documents for the years 1919 to 1939. This collection may extend to more than

thirty volumes. The documents are a selection from a great mass of material—a full selection on all matters of importance—but even so not setting out to be more than a statement of British policy and a record of its execution by the Foreign Office and Diplomatic Missions; the arrogant and unfulfilled claims made by the editors of the pre-1914 documents of the German Foreign Office are a warning against the pretension that the policy of the Great Powers can be explained solely from the archives of one of them. A historian studying the political relations of the Great Powers during the years 1919–39 will need the diplomatic records of all the Great Powers. Consider what this means. The American publication, ‘Foreign Relations of the United States’—again only a full selection of diplomatic documents—is likely to exceed forty volumes for the years between the two World Wars. There will be similar publications of Italian and German documents and probably of French documents. It is impossible to say whether the Soviet Government will ever produce a documentary record of their own diplomacy, but apart from the material I have mentioned, there are the records of the smaller Powers and the immense documentation of the political activities of the League of Nations. It goes without saying that official papers must be supplemented from other sources, and, in particular, that the political relations of modern States are intelligible only in their general economic context.

In the course of time the archives from which these diplomatic collections have been made will be open in full, yet I do not see how it will be possible to assess the reliability of any one of the larger series without doing again a great deal of the work which will have occupied the original editors over a period of years. It would, of course, be easy to discover gross and systematic frauds; detection of mistakes or omissions ‘in good faith’ will be much more difficult. A check by samples would be of some use, but satisfactory only to the extent of testing the general accuracy and competence of the editors. In other words, a historian fifty years hence who is writing about the years 1919 to 1939 will have to leave unexamined the textual foundations of his predecessors’ work to a far greater extent than was the case fifty years ago, or is the case today, for most periods of ancient or Christian history.

Moreover, this problem will be aggravated if we continue to accumulate documents at our present rate. We have even extended the scale and range of our accumulation and there are

new categories of material of great importance, such as films and gramophone records; the most damning personal evidence, for example, of Hitler's baseness of character and of his hold upon the Germans will be found in the actual records of his coarse voice and vulgar phrasing, and of the maniac applause which it received.

It is difficult enough now to attempt anything more than a monograph on one aspect of the history of one country since 1900: who will be able to find a way through this mass of material and assess its reliability, when he is without the immense, time-saving advantage of direct contemporary knowledge? I am not suggesting that the study of history will come to a standstill; if the intellectual quality of historians remains as high as it is today, I do not fear that the study will ossify into a kind of mandarin learning. At the same time it seems inevitable that this vast increase in the amount of material in all fields must have some effect on the relationship between the historian and his sources.

Some time ago, in another context, I suggested an analogy—not altogether fanciful—with the rise in industry of a new managerial class which has rendered out-of-date the older and simpler antitheses of capital and labour, masters and men. The conditions of modern historical study, like the conditions of modern industry, require something between the great syntheses—the writings of a Gibbon or a Ranke or the large Cambridge histories and the skilled craft work on the source material. We cannot continue merely with the division to which our President referred last year between one type of scholar concerned with meticulous research and a second type interested primarily in broad generalization. Indeed, for a long time we have had—especially in relation to administrative documents—a middle class engaged in reducing certain types of source material to tractable dimensions.

The responsibilities of this 'intermediate' class are heavy because—as I have said—much of their work will tend to be treated as primary sources are treated. One might take another analogy, and notice that the 'intermediate' historians will have functions not unlike those of the permanent heads of government departments who reduce the multifarious business of their departments to a condition in which it can be brought within the judgement of the political chief. There is a loss in this mediation; a Peel or a Palmerston had ultimately more control over policy because they could master, though even in their time at the cost of immense effort, all the relevant material. On

the other hand, the alternative today, both in administration and in scholarship, is confusion, or, if I may again run to history for my images, the alternative is that the historian should behave like a Nicholas I careering at high speed over his empire in the vain hope of getting a check on the behaviour of his officials.

I may make myself more clear about the tasks of these 'intermediate' historians if I speak a little about one type, and a type which is relatively new as far as we are concerned. Owing to the great extension of the sphere of governmental activities, and owing also to a closer control as well as a better ordering of official papers, an increasingly large proportion of the material for the study of contemporary events—the *res gestae* of our society—is contained in archives of state which cannot be opened forthwith to general study. If we are to write the history of the present for the future, and to make use of this material while it can be supplemented and checked by personal knowledge and inquiry, there must be some special arrangement between historians and the departments of state whose archives will be used.

This arrangement has taken the form of 'officially sponsored histories'. These histories are in themselves syntheses, and in this respect go beyond the collections of documents to which I have already referred. The scholars employed on such histories are not, as they are often loosely called, 'official historians'; they are independent historians with special access to certain material, and their business is to provide their historical colleagues and the public in general with the information contained in this material. There are reasons why, after a great war, the number of officially sponsored histories should be considerable, but I think that in any case this type of 'intermediate' historical work is likely to be more common in the future than it has been in the immediate past.

I have guarded myself against describing the officially sponsored historian as an entirely new phenomenon. He existed, of course, as an official historian, *tout court*, long before the writing of independent history. He is as old as the graven monuments of Assyrian and Egyptian Kings; in our own country it is not fanciful to say that he goes back at least as far as the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, but official and officially sponsored histories, on the whole, have a bad name because we are only too familiar with the abuse of power by the possessors of power in order to justify their acts to contemporaries and to posterity. Moreover, official history—ecclesiastical or civil—may be written about the distant past, as well as about the nearer present, in

order to justify a particular set of beliefs held by authority. One may even choose a work compiled 1,500 years ago, the *Historiae adversum paganos*, as perhaps the most widely read example of history written, if I may so put it, in order to 'debunk' the past in the interest of a contemporary thesis.

The reasons for suspecting official and officially sponsored histories go beyond the simple view that the powerful consider themselves always to have been right, or at all events wish posterity so to think of them. A subtler danger is that, having a choice of historians, the powerful will take care to choose one who shares their own view of their rightness; it is not recorded that Balak and the princes of Moab ever gave Balaam, and if I may use a modern term without offence, his research assistant, a further chance of employment. I do not, however, want to waste time in this place over works openly propagandist and apologetic. 'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings.' Yes: that was his name, or the name by which some people may be supposed to have called him, and, for the rest, Shelley has told us all that we need to know.

I am concerned—and here again I speak from my own experience—about the limitations within which the officially sponsored historian—as a type of the intermediate class—must do his work. He realizes that not all his statements can be checked during his lifetime, and that some of them may never be checked, even though he may take care—and, for that matter, his official sponsors are taking care for him—that all his *pièces justificatives* are preserved in the archives. Thus he is rarely able to allow himself what I might call 'freedom of conjecture'. He must beware of hypotheses, and confine himself to facts in all cases when he cannot produce the whole of the evidence for or against an opinion. It would be misleading to say that he cannot write all that he knows, since within the declared limits of his work he must write to the full extent of his knowledge, but he must write what he knows from his papers, and not what he surmises from them. He is debarred from passing personal judgements; he cannot even use irony—perhaps (as Gibbon realized) the most effective means of keeping a reader's interest.

It is worth noticing that limitations of this kind do not apply only to historical writing commissioned by public authority. For example, a sponsored biographer, if I may use the term, may work on material which will never be open to general inspection. One may remember, indeed, Carlyle's bitter remark about English biography: 'how delicate, decent it is, bless its

mealy mouth'. There is a dilemma here, a warning that at all times a contemporary writing about contemporaries is limited by certain reticencies. These reticencies differ with the age. In our own time many of them have worn thin; nevertheless they are there. The countervailing advantages in the record of contemporaries by contemporaries are much greater, but one does not have to read the absurdities of Procopius's *Secret History* to become aware of the incompleteness of what I might call the public biographies of the great.

Similarly, one may notice that the danger of 'ready assent' to the historical interpretations required by the powerful goes, as I have suggested, beyond the range of officially sponsored history. There is likely to be a 'pre-established harmony' between academic writing and the wishes of the powerful in countries where the higher academic posts are in the gift of the State. This danger is easily recognizable in totalitarian régimes; it is subtly present elsewhere. I do not think that we always realize, for example, the extent to which there has been an official interpretation, or rather a series of interpretations in France, of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period, not at all because French historians have done violence to their convictions, but for the reason that at certain times only those with convictions of a particular kind have had access to academic chairs. One could take similar examples from our own country with regard to ecclesiastical history.

The officially sponsored historian may feel a little safer in moving across slippery ground when he knows that he is roped with others, yet this knowledge must increase rather than lessen his sense of responsibility. Consider then, for a moment, one aspect of this responsibility. Owing to the special nature of the sources, his work, like that of the 'intermediate' class generally, will be taken *de facto*, though not *de jure*, as first-hand material at least until the archives are open. It has, indeed, been suggested that the publication of officially sponsored histories or collections of documents may retard the opening of archives. I see no reason why this should be so—in general I think that the opposite will be the case, but there is a new consideration which has nothing to do with official histories but may well affect the date at which in our own country certain archives can be opened. As is well known, the special recording of Cabinet proceedings for departmental record begins with the First World War. One feature of our constitution is the principle of collective Cabinet responsibility. You cannot expect to retain

this feature if, within the lifetime of members of a Cabinet, you allow the publication of documents which establish the efforts of individual Ministers to advocate or oppose a particular line of policy. It is not possible to segregate all such evidence of personal responsibility. The evidence is scattered about the departmental archives, and, one might say, permeates the 'high-level' material. A casual observer may not always notice it; anyone who has worked on such material for months or years cannot fail to see it.

I doubt therefore whether—unless we change our constitutional conventions—it will be possible to allow less than an interval of a generation between the date of the papers in the most important political archives and the time at which those papers can be opened to general study. The case is reinforced by other considerations such as the need to safeguard the freedom of permanent officials to express opinions or to put forward hypotheses which should be allowed to remain confidential at least during the period of their official careers. From my own observation I think that there is very little writing 'for the record' in contemporary British documents of state; that is to say, I do not believe that in the great pressure of business today many reports are written with an eye to publication and as a deliberate attempt to secure a favourable judgement from the contemporary public or from posterity. Occasionally the writer may have in mind the possibility that a paper will be laid before Parliament, but at least in diplomatic documents it is nearly always easy to detect any special writing for this purpose. Oddly enough a writer will generally say so, if he has such a purpose in mind. On the other hand, it is undesirable that a civil servant, who has not the politician's privilege of 'answering back', should be liable to find his personal comments or tentative suggestions taken out of their context and scrutinized as though they were final judgements or executive acts.

It is with special regard to these considerations that I have spoken of the responsibility resting upon an officially sponsored historian to avoid unproved interpretations of motives or glosses on his texts. There is always a temptation to suggest clues to a tangled subject and to put forward hypotheses—if you think that you have found in them the solution of a problem hitherto unsolved. This temptation happens to be particularly strong in the case of Foreign Office records. British diplomatic language tends to understatement. So also does the language of French and American diplomacy, though there are interesting



differences between the methods of 'understating'. If diplomatic records were like under-developed photographic plates, the historian's task would be easy. One would just tone up the negative, or give the reader the mixture for toning it up, and all the missing features would appear. There is, however, no such simple process in the case of documents written by trained diplomats for trained diplomats. It is impossible to recover by mechanical tests all that is in a document. There must remain—as Bismarck pointed out—a certain element of conjecture, and the officially sponsored historian must take care to leave his readers to make the conjectures for themselves, even though at times he is dismayed by the use to which they put their freedom.

I should add one important qualification to everything I have said. My view of the functions of an officially sponsored historian is based on the assumption that he is an independent historian invited to undertake a special piece of work and given the necessary facilities for doing so. If there are no independent historians, the position changes. The survival of independent and free historical writing is a wider question than that of the immediate, present relationship between a few academic historians and the departments of state which may commission their work.

My own opinion on this wider question is not altogether optimistic. The freedom of historical writing in the nineteenth century depended broadly on three things: the desire for independent history, the moral and intellectual capacity of historians to write it, and the opportunities for getting it written. Even this rough analysis is but another way of saying that free and independent history can be written only in certain types of society. The desire to know causes—the ultimate reason for demanding 'independent' history—was one of the features of a liberal culture; so also was the rise of a class of historians morally and intellectually capable of free inquiry. We cannot be sure of the survival of a liberal culture: that is to say, we cannot be sure of the survival of the kind of society which will demand or even acquiesce in freedom of the mind. If our liberal culture should disappear, I do not see how there can be any successors to the independent historians who trained our own generation. When our Academy was founded, not so many years ago, the free study of the humanities was taken for granted. Since that time there has been a grave change for the worse. I need not enlarge upon the reasons for this change, since everyone knows

them, or thinks that he knows them. I am myself less certain perhaps than many modern poets or sociologists that we really do know the reasons, but I am bound to ask how far, and in what manner, the change may affect history as one of the liberal arts.

It is indeed salutary for us to remember that although, when they allocated particular functions among the Muses, the ancients allowed Clio to specialize in history, specialist historians as a class have not always been regarded as furthering a civilized culture. There have been times when they could be described as wearing down the patience of their listeners by recalling to them in an uninteresting way masses of facts which were not worth remembering. Historians in the last two centuries have obtained for their subject a recognition on a higher plane largely because they have viewed history as something more than a prodigious feat of memory. They took this view in consequence of their own training: this training was based on the classical discipline which, for all its shortcomings, covered as no other discipline a very wide range of human behaviour and at the same time enjoined and obeyed certain laws of form.

We have to accept the facts that a generation hence few of our academic historians will know Greek, and that even Latin may be learned rather as a scientist may learn German. I might be less perturbed at this increasing dissociation between the traditional pattern of a liberal education and the training of historians if I were satisfied that an adequate substitute had been found for the study of the Greek and Latin masters. I do not regard it as impossible to find such a substitute, but until it has been found, accepted, and generally employed in our schools and universities, our research and our writing are in danger of losing a sense of contour and sharpness of line. The tree of historical knowledge belongs to the formal garden, not to the greenwood. It is a product of careful tending. If it is left, uncouth and unpruned, to revert to a wild growth, its fruit will be sour or jejune to the taste. In different words one may say that the historian will find in his immense store of material only those things which he is capable of recognizing. Historical understanding is more than a series of detective tricks. It requires a mind already attuned to the scale of human action and practised in the subtlest use of language to express the depths and heights.

The problem before us is, obviously, not merely one of educational method. The sickness of our society—to repeat an

all-too-familiar phrase—is so very grave that historians would be presumptuous to claim for their art any large powers of restoration and cure. Nevertheless, they can assist in checking the ravages of the disease. When I was speaking of the scholars who regained for all history—and not merely for short periods of it—a place among the Muses, I implied that they did so ultimately because they set a high value upon the dignity of man. I repeat this term deliberately because one of the signs of disintegration in our own culture is an unwillingness to consider that man has dignity and that his acts may be noble. Once this conception of nobility—a concept essential to tragedy—is lost, history becomes nothing more than a rag-bag, a pawn-broker's catalogue, or at best a psychiatrist's case book, and our curiosity about it is ticketed as a prurient itch or a concealed anxiety. The present decline in the intellectual content of European literature and painting is in this respect a warning to us that extreme technical dexterity is not a substitute for a philosophy of noble action. The warning indeed is not new. One may read it, for example, in a strangely prophetic passage of a book written by the Abbé Lamennais 125 years ago forecasting that 'reason will decay before men's eyes. The simplest truths will appear strange and remarkable, and will scarcely be endured.'

History is long enough, and full enough, to substantiate the historian's claim to treat men as only a little lower than the angels, or at least to regard them as destined to suffer and capable of showing nobility in suffering. When the Jesuit Father Heribert Rosweyde and his successors, who have done so much to establish and clarify the treatment of historical material, set out to compile an *Acta Sanctorum*, they concluded that men and women could attain in certain conditions to a state deserving the title 'sanctity'. It may be that we are unable to reach this conclusion along the road followed by generations of Christian scholars. *Uno itinere non potest perveniri ad tam grande secretum*. By this way or that we must reach the same end. We must assert our right as historians, in virtue of our knowledge, to a high view of human kind. We can assert it by writing the history of the distant past or by writing the history of our own time, but if we do not hold to the same guiding principles our activities are of no more worth to society than the solution of puzzles or acrostics, while, for ourselves, time shrinks to the insect-like ticking of the clock, and in the significant procession of the years we see only a dance of death.

WARTON LECTURE ON ENGLISH POETRY  
WORDSWORTH AND TENNYSON

By D. G. JAMES

Read 7 June 1950

I

THE following are the facts which make it natural, in 1950, to bring together the names of Wordsworth and Tennyson. Wordsworth died in April 1850. In July *The Prelude* was published. Now *The Prelude* may, for many reasons, and in spite of many faults, be considered Wordsworth's greatest poem. It had been begun, many years before, in 1798; and it was a little later that he had conceived the idea of composing an extensive review of the growth of his mind as a Preface to the long philosophical poem which he had first contemplated at Alfoxden. *The Prelude* was completed, in a first draft, in 1805; and this draft has been published in our time and given scholarly attention by the late Professor de Selincourt. Of the great philosophical poem to which it was a Preface, only the second of three parts was written: this was *The Excursion* which had been published in 1814. *The Prelude*, as it was called by Mrs. Wordsworth, which was published in 1850, was a revised version of the poem as it had stood in 1805. The revision shows a number of important changes as we might expect; but it is also easy to exaggerate the number and extent of these changes. In 1850 then, a few months after his death, the world was able to read the poet's own account of the growth of his mind up to the time of his early poetic maturity and as revised by him in his later days. Thus, in its middle time, the nineteenth century received this testament of Wordsworth, which was also one of the most ample proofs of his great genius.

But in this mid-century year *In Memoriam*, which was to make Tennyson Wordsworth's successor as Laureate, was also published. It was published some five weeks after Wordsworth's death and therefore before *The Prelude*. *In Memoriam*, also, had not been rushed into print. Tennyson had begun to write poems which were to be incorporated in it as early as 1833, the year in which Arthur Hallam died; he wrote additional pieces from time to time, and finally felt able, by due arrangement and additions, to publish it in 1850. Now this poem, also, is

autobiographical; it, too, is a review of a long and crucial period in the growth of the poet's mind; Tennyson himself sometimes spoke of it as telling the 'way of the soul'. It is therefore, apart from the natural piety aroused in us on centenary occasions, a matter of some interest to consider briefly these two autobiographical poems together, the one perhaps the greatest of all Romantic poems, the other perhaps the greatest of all Victorian poems. And I ask what it is that, as we pass from *The Prelude* to *In Memoriam*, chiefly strikes us? What main shifts of attitude, sensibility, and manner are chiefly perceptible? I shall certainly not, in what follows, be able to answer fully this many-sided question. But I at least propose to try to treat of a major part of it, and to try to mark down what seems to me to be the profoundest difference between the two poems; and from an understanding of this major difference to find a standing-place from which it would be possible to see and understand the other remaining differences.

## II

I have said that both poems are autobiographical. I have said also that I propose to speak of *differences* between the two poems; and I must decline, out of lack of time, to speak of similarities. It would be interesting enough to reflect on the state of affairs in which two of the greatest poems of the century, its two greatest poems, we may say, were autobiographical; but I remark now only that both poems record a recovery from a time of peculiar difficulty and distress; and I shall recount something of Wordsworth's distresses and his recovery from them as a starting-point for the mission I have set myself to perform. In doing so I shall employ *The Prelude* as my authority.

By 1795 Wordsworth was disillusioned by the French Revolution: France had already embarked upon foreign conquest; and it became clear that the Revolution was inaugurating no perfect society. Under these circumstances Wordsworth turned from a failure exhibited by reality to a hope founded on a theory: he had recourse to a form of secular rationalism advocated by William Godwin in a book published in 1793 called *An Enquiry concerning Political Justice*. It is no part of my purpose to expound Godwin; he held a peculiarly foolish theory of human nature and of politics; and Wordsworth soon came to see that it was foolish. I shall only say that it represented a view of human nature and society in every respect opposed to the views which Burke had been propounding for years; and in 1791 Burke had applied

his views, extravagantly and mistakenly it is true, to the French Revolution. But at this time Wordsworth had no ears for Burke. He was to have ears for him later. But now he read Godwin and not Burke; and he tried to persuade himself, under Godwin's direction, that human nature is far more rational and far more capable of ordering its behaviour by theory and supposed demonstration than in fact, on any showing, it is. The course of affairs in France had depressed Wordsworth; and he had turned from French realities to Godwinian theories for a ground for hope. But if France only lowered his hopes, so did Godwin: a theory which so cheerfully misrepresented human nature was bound, in the last resort, only to increase his dismay; and so it did. Godwinism was exploded; and Wordsworth was left with only one instrument whereby he might carve a way for himself to some accommodation with life. This instrument was his intelligence; and he set himself, in his low spirits, to work out a philosophy of conduct; he set himself to become a moral philosopher. This was a desperate moment in Wordsworth's life. Would philosophy, as he tried to practise it, provide him with what he no doubt grievously needed, and give him in all truth a philosophy of life: not a theory merely, but a theory which would give him order and confidence?

The answer is that it did not. It proved a dismal failure. He tried to find, he tells us, the ground of obligation. He would take nothing for granted; if he was to believe anything about obligation, motive, right, and wrong, he would prove it; he would take nothing on trust. But if he was depressed before, he now became in addition hopelessly muddled. He says so himself (I give the passage as it appears in the 1805 version):

Thus I fared,  
Dragging all passions, notions, shapes of faith,  
Like culprits to the bar, suspiciously  
Calling the mind to establish in plain day  
Her titles and her honours, now believing,  
Now disbelieving, endlessly perplex'd  
With impulse, motive, right and wrong, the ground  
Of moral obligation, what the rule  
And what the sanction, till, demanding *proof*,  
And seeking it in everything, I lost  
All feeling of conviction, and, in fine  
Sick, wearied out with contrarieties,  
Yielded up moral questions in despair. . . .

He had shot his philosophical bolt and it had missed the mark;

and he had, he tells us (in Book XI of the same version), pronounced sentence on both history and poetry:

their rights  
Seem'd mortal, and their empire pass'd away.

Besides, in this state of mind, he turned—it seems an extraordinary thing to have to record in the intellectual biography of a poet, and especially of Wordsworth—to employ his time in mathematics, a subject which had greatly attracted him during his time at Cambridge. There seemed at least some sort of certainty in mathematics. In this way, and to this extent, he had progressed in abstraction.

### III

This was in 1796. It is not easy to see here a stage in the growth of a poet's mind. And yet it was so, and in the growth of the mind of the poet who was to be peculiarly a 'poet of healing', as Matthew Arnold called Wordsworth. It is natural to quote, in 1950, Matthew Arnold's *Memorial Verses*, composed in April 1850, on the death of Wordsworth; and this is what he wrote:

Ah, since dark days still bring to light  
Man's prudence and man's fiery might,  
Time may restore us in his course  
Goethe's sage mind and Byron's force;  
But where will Europe's latter hour  
Again find Wordsworth's healing power? . . .

And on another occasion, Arnold wrote that

of the spirits who have reign'd  
In this our troubled day,  
I know but two who have attain'd  
. . . to see their way.

This may or may not be true of Goethe, the second of the 'two'; but it is certainly true of Wordsworth: he came to see his way clearly. Or consider again the comfort and restoration John Stuart Mill was to find in Wordsworth's poetry. Mill was reared in a philosophy not unlike, in certain important respects, that of Godwin. Like Wordsworth he fell into a listless and despairing state. He came to see that his highly intellectual way of life, the 'rationalistic' philosophy in which he had been reared, the calculating prudential ethics of his father's creed, the sustained habit of analysis, had worn away his feelings and left him stale and dull; and then the emotional drive behind his

utilitarianism disappeared. It was in this state that he turned to read Wordsworth's poetry; and he says that in Wordsworth's poems he seemed to 'draw from a source of inward joy, of sympathetic and imaginative pleasure, which could be shared in by all human beings. . . . From them I seemed to learn what would be the perennial source of happiness, when all the greater evils of life shall have been removed. And I felt myself at once better and happier as I came under their influence.' These are strong enough testimonies to what Wordsworth was to come to out of the state in which he was in 1796. Or reflect again, that two years later, in July 1798, Wordsworth composed *Tintern Abbey*; and in *Tintern Abbey* he speaks of

that blessed mood,  
In which the burthen of the mystery,  
In which the heavy and the weary weight  
Of all this unintelligible world,  
Is lightened;

and he also says that:

with an eye made quiet by the power  
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,  
We see into the life of things.

How far away from his state in 1796 are these serene words! It is naturally a matter of deep interest and moment to us to study what Wordsworth tells us in *The Prelude* of how he came out of one condition into the other. He was to become a poet of healing; how did *he* come by health?

#### IV

It may seem a surprising thing, but we have the abundant authority of *The Prelude* for saying that he passed, however slowly, from one condition into the other, by the ministration to him of the memories of his childhood. Philosophy was a broken reed; poetry and history were under condemnation; mathematics could hardly help him; but his childhood proved a hiding-place of power and made him a poet, and the poet of *Tintern Abbey*. He says<sup>1</sup> that he

had known  
Too forcibly, too early in his life  
Visitings of imaginative power  
For this to last.

But in what way did his memories of childhood act to change him? What were the emotions he now recollected, however much

<sup>1</sup> Here and later, unless stated to the contrary, I quote from the 1850 version.



he lacked tranquillity? And what kind of scene, landscape, and experience especially recurred to him?

I do not doubt that in the passages in which Wordsworth provides the answers to these questions, we may come nearest to the central fires of his genius. I cannot quote these passages at any length. But they are, I think, very surprising. They describe Wordsworth as a child set in mountain landscapes of great desolation and dreariness that have their loneliness heightened by the presence in them of a single human figure, or animal: we look upon moorland wastes, naked mountain pools, dreary crags, and melancholy beacons; and across them blows a storm-wind, and mist or sleety rain. Now in one such setting, Wordsworth tells us, he was once lost and frightened; but now, as he recalls it to his mind, he says that he would need

Colours and words that are unknown to man  
To paint the visionary dreariness  
Which . . .

Invested moorland waste, and naked pool;

he was lifted, as a child, in such a landscape, into the visionary; and it was recalling this, and other such scenes as this, that acted on him with what he called a 'renovating virtue' whence, 'depressed by false opinion and contentious thought' his mind 'was nourished . . . invisibly repaired' and brought out of the despair into which by 1796 he had fallen and out of which his philosophical thinking had quite failed to bring him. I do not think that in the history of English poetic genius there is anything quite so remarkable as this. I do not pretend that the purport of this and other passages like it is manifest and obvious; I only say that we have, on the express authority of Wordsworth himself, to take the most serious account of them; not to take account of them is to miss the essential, the crucial thing, in the genius of Wordsworth; *the visionariness of dereliction*.

For we must not forget that the education nature gave Wordsworth was in great measure an education of fear; Wordsworth was not, *in the first place*, the poet of the familiar, the cheerful, and the homely; or, he was never *merely* that. There is a passage of very great importance, late in *The Prelude*, where he speaks of himself and of the influence of Dorothy Wordsworth upon him. He says that, before her influence began to work upon him, he had

too exclusively esteemed *that* love,  
And sought *that* beauty, which, as Milton sings,  
Hath terror in it;

and Dorothy, he says, softened down that over-sternness and severity; she helped to give him an eye for the homely common things. If only a half of what Wordsworth says of the influence of Dorothy on him were true, it were enough to cause us, in this centenary year, to commemorate also the genius of this remarkable woman; but it would be interesting to speculate on where the naturally extreme austerity of Wordsworth's mystical genius would have carried him, had he not come under her influence. This is not the occasion for such speculations; but it is right and necessary to say that, in speaking of Wordsworth, we need to begin by reflecting that his natural genius was to seek a love and beauty which are also fearful. Here is the centre of his sensibility. When Hazlitt saw him, when Wordsworth was still in his twenties, he remarked the severe, worn pressure of thought about his temples and the cheeks furrowed by strong purpose and feeling. The genius of Wordsworth was, in the first place, on his own statement, a severe mystical one; and this is exhibited in these recollections of desolate but visionary landscapes. I do not wish, nor did Wordsworth wish, to disregard or underrate the services which Dorothy and Coleridge rendered him as he passed from 1796 to 1798; but what in his own and peculiar genius came now to his aid, Wordsworth sets out in these passages of which I have been speaking. There was now for Wordsworth, and was always to be, in *derelection*, in extreme dreariness, in forsakenness, in lostness, a visionary quality; *derelection* was always to light up his imagination. I have spoken of these landscapes which meant so much to him at this time. Recall what corresponds to them in human terms: the old soldier in Book IV of *The Prelude*, the beggar in the streets of London, Michael, the leech-gatherer; and there are many other figures like them in Wordsworth's poems. These landscapes and these figures are the mastering objects of Wordsworth's contemplation. In and through the contemplation of such landscapes and such human figures, he sought the love and beauty which have terror in them; and my immediate concern has been to show, and on the authority of Wordsworth, that it was largely by and through contemplation of this kind, recollected from childhood, that he came, out of his wretchedness and despair, to the calm and elevation which he had come to in July 1798, and which, indeed, he never lost again.

It seems perhaps a curious and surprising route by which to have travelled from despair to joy, from uncertainty and a prevailing scepticism to confidence and assured faith. But

on reflection it is not perhaps so surprising. That Wordsworth should have come to any certainty by philosophical thought *would* have been surprising; what is not, or should not be, surprising, is that he came to it through the imaginative apprehension of nature; by the coming of certain landscapes to him with a symbolical and revelatory power: he came to what he believed to be truth through his senses, by beholding; like, that is to say, a poet. The discovery he made was a *poetic* discovery; and its veracity remained for him absolute and unshakeable. There could be no question in his mind of appeal for confirmation to anything supposedly above it; and that this was so I now go on to illustrate.

## V

To do so, I turn to a well-known passage in the Preface to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* in which Wordsworth speaks of this truth in its relation to other knowledge, philosophical and scientific. This is how he writes: 'Aristotle, I have been told, has said, that Poetry is the most philosophic of all writing.' I pause here in my quotation to remark that in fact Aristotle said no such thing: how could he? and I remark also that Wordsworth had only been *told* that Aristotle said this; he had not read the *Poetics* for himself. Who had told him this, one wonders? Could Coleridge have told him anything so misleading? Then Wordsworth goes on: 'It is so.' Again I intervene to remark that it is impossible not to admire that 'It is so'. Whether Aristotle really said it, Wordsworth does not trouble to inquire. What he declares is that whether Aristotle said it or not, it is true: he, Wordsworth, is saying so. Then he goes on: 'Its object is truth, not individual and local, but general, and operative; not standing upon external testimony, but carried alive into the heart by passion; truth which is its own testimony, which gives competence and confidence to the tribunal to which it appeals, and receives them from the same tribunal. Poetry is the image of man and nature.' What confidence is here! Here is the doctrine (we may call it, if we will, romantic) of the truth of the imagination which is indifferent to external testimony, which submits itself to no higher tribunal, and is both appellant and tribunal. There is no question of either philosophy or science standing over it as a source of external testimony on which it must depend. Philosophy, indeed, he deals with in summary fashion: poetry is the most philosophical of all writing. He was now, he believed, writing in 1800, more

a philosopher than he had been in 1796 when he turned moral philosopher for a time and sought out, by proof and demonstration, the nature of obligation, good and evil. I do not propose now to consider Wordsworth's notions (so far as he got them clear at all) of the relation of poetry to philosophy, or of the imagination to reason; I remark only that he roundly declared that the imagination, which is poetical power, is reason and in her most exalted mood. But I call attention now to what Wordsworth says here, in the Preface, about the relation of poetry to science; and from this I shall be able to pass naturally in the course of my argument to Tennyson. This is what he says; and we may recall that we do not expect Wordsworth to see in science anything from which poetry needs to derive 'external testimony' for the truth of what poetry communicates:

The knowledge both of the Poet and the Man of science is pleasure; but the knowledge of the one cleaves to us as a necessary part of our existence . . . ; the other is a personal and individual acquisition, slow to come to us, and by no habitual and direct sympathy connecting us with our fellow-beings. . . . If the labours of Men of science should ever create any material revolution, direct or indirect, in our condition, . . . the Poet will sleep then no more than at present; he will be ready to follow the steps of the Man of science, not only in those general indirect effects, but he will be at his side, carrying sensation into the midst of the objects of the science itself. The remotest discoveries of the Chemist, the Botanist, or Mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the Poet's art as any upon which it can be employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated by the followers of the respective sciences shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings. If the time should ever come when what is now called science, thus familiarized to men, shall be ready to put on, as it were, a form of flesh and blood, the Poet will lend his divine spirit to aid the transfiguration, and will welcome the Being thus produced, as a dear and genuine inmate of the household of man.

Now this historic statement, which is no doubt the most important single statement of the nineteenth century on the relation between poetry and science, is full of Wordsworth's confidence; it is Wordsworth's classic statement, in the face of science, of what we may call the autonomy of poetry. It is not only that there is no question of the necessity of any external testimony to be provided by science; he declares also that poetry is the soul of science and the expression in its countenance; and what, as Arnold said, quoting this, is a countenance without

its expression? Besides, there is nothing in scientific discovery, if it has or can have human truth, truth of importance to us as human beings, which lies beyond poetic treatment; the poet will carry 'sensation' into the midst of the objects of science. Here is Wordsworth's statement of the overlordship of poetry; or better, of its immanence in all knowledge; it is the source and discovery of significant truth. If we will, science is a self-governing dominion in the empire of poetry; but the spirit and link of the entire empire is the throne of poetry.

To discuss all that is implied in this idea of poetry and the splendid claims he makes for it, is beyond the scope of this lecture. But my duty for today is performed by emphasizing the masterfulness, the sanguineness, the confidence and assurance of all this. Poetry becomes impregnable; nothing can pierce its armour. But if this is the relationship of poetry to philosophy and science, what is its relation to history, and then to religion? In the Preface, he has nothing to say on these momentous topics. But the time will come when he will require poetry to submit to the supreme authority of religion: Wordsworth was to become a Christian poet, and what I have declared to be at the centre of all his feeling made this natural, if not inevitable. We mistake greatly if we ignore the historic significance of the *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, where a sense of history is part and parcel of a religious poetry.

## VI

I turn now to Tennyson. It is a very different story. Sir Charles Tennyson, in his recent admirable biography of his grandfather, has told us that Tennyson's childhood and youth were unhappy in a way and to an extent that we did not know before. They were certainly not only or merely unhappy; but no doubt the unhappiness of the Tennyson home contributed to the melancholy to which Tennyson was subject; we could hardly expect such a home, or such a countryside, to nourish a hardy and severe genius such as that of Wordsworth. Still, it is not to circumstance that we should chiefly look in seeing and comprehending the differences between the geniuses of Wordsworth and Tennyson. We are concerned with the poetry and not with doubtful origins.

Tennyson went to Cambridge in 1827, just forty years after Wordsworth went up. Wordsworth had been at St. John's; Tennyson went to Trinity. No doubt Trinity's 'loquacious clock' still sounded; but it was a very different Trinity and a

different Cambridge in which Tennyson moved. He did not settle easily into Cambridge; but there came up two years later, to Trinity, Arthur Hallam, who was judged by all his contemporaries at school and college to be the fullest of promise of the young men of his time. He and Tennyson became friends; he had much that Tennyson had not: vivacity, confidence, enthusiasm; and there went along with this a steady spiritual grace which all who knew him quickly remarked. Hallam gave Tennyson confidence and hope and zest; and they became members of the celebrated Cambridge group called the Apostles, on which F. D. Maurice and John Sterling had left a deep impression. It was a remarkable time in the intellectual history of the nineteenth century: the Apostles at Cambridge, the strong Evangelical Movement at Cambridge, but the Oxford Movement not far off; Connop Thirlwall already interested in the advanced German theologians; new methods of Biblical study; the increasing influence of science and its impact on religion: these things the Apostles would discuss. In the midst of this ferment, Hallam helped to keep Tennyson steady and helped the growth of his mind. It had been touch and go, in 1816, whether Newman would go to Oxford or Cambridge; had he gone to Cambridge would he have remained an Evangelical under Simeon's influence and been a familiar figure to the Apostles? As it was, he went to Oxford, had by this time read Bishop Butler, and was preaching at St. Mary's. It was certain other Apostles, not at Cambridge, who were after all to cause the chief stir.

But I am turning aside. I cannot recount the friendship of Tennyson and Hallam; and everybody knows that when in Austria in 1833, Hallam, now engaged to Tennyson's sister, suddenly died. The bottom of Tennyson's world seemed to fall out. There was, first, his sense of a personal loss, of a person who meant more to him than any other, and without whom it would be hard for him to face the struggle and uncertainty of life; and this was mingled with the metaphysical fears which the times were bringing upon educated men. In the year of Hallam's death Tennyson began to compose what, after many years, was to be *In Memoriam*. It was also the year in which the Oxford Movement may be said to have begun. But in the winter of that year also we see Tennyson's continuing Apostleship: he laid down an ambitious programme of reading in science and philosophy; and as the time passed, he was awake to what was going on in the world of thought; for example, he

read Lyell's geological writings with great care and tried to grapple with German criticism of the Bible.

## VII

In turning now to speak of *In Memoriam*, or at least of *In Memoriam* in a certain point of view, I am not chiefly concerned with a direct assessment of the respective poetic powers of Wordsworth and Tennyson. That Wordsworth was the greater poet of the two, I take for granted and beyond dispute; my concern, as I said at the beginning, is to point out the overriding difference between *The Prelude* and *In Memoriam* from which all other differences seem to me to succeed.

Now that *In Memoriam* does not come to the grave spiritual hardihood and serenity of *The Prelude* needs little demonstration. The famous verses, composed in 1849, and beginning,

Strong Son of God, immortal Love,

are evidence enough of this; and there is no lack of other verses of this kind. The fact is beyond question. But I am not now concerned to emphasize this. As a matter of literary history what chiefly interests us is not that Wordsworth came to a quite confident faith that the universe is spiritual and that Tennyson did not; what must interest us chiefly, as I have said, is that Wordsworth came to his assurance by poetry, by becoming a poet, or through poetic apprehension of the natural world: the world of nature, certain landscapes, or again certain human figures, made to him a deliverance of what he could not forbear to see for truth; and this truth was truth manifested in perception. Now when, bearing this in mind, we turn to *In Memoriam*, we see that there is there nothing corresponding to this. We cannot say that Tennyson comes to what assurance and peace of mind is possible to him through a poetic apprehension of things; we do not see, in his poetry, landscapes or human beings taking on the quality of veridical symbol; his perceptions do not act as a revelation. Instead, we see Tennyson casting about, more or less hopefully, for sources of veracity in something other than poetic perception; he does not see poetry as perception that can possess its own credentials and sources of truth, of 'truth which is its own testimony'. Therefore, when we turn from *The Prelude* to *In Memoriam*, we see not that Tennyson is a less great poet than Wordsworth, but that he is less a poet than Wordsworth. Or again, in Wordsworth's writings, poetry is confident of its powers; in Tennyson's, it is

weak through a certain loss of nerve. Or again, *The Prelude* narrates the poet's coming to an ascertained, poetic vision of things; *In Memoriam* is a poetical treatment of a state of affairs in which the poet seeks to persuade himself to believe something.

Now in the Preface to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, in those passages which I have quoted, Wordsworth is speaking out of the transforming effect which his imaginative power, renewed by recollections of his childhood, had on him; the hiding-places of power were opened to him; and in the possession of this power, nothing could prevail against his poetry. He declares therefore, in the Preface, the autonomy of the imagination; here Wordsworth took his stand: on the abstractness of science, on the human concreteness of poetry; and there was no question of a conflict between poetry and science.

But it was not so with Tennyson. Romanticism bequeathed much to Tennyson: it did not bequeath to him this crucial and saving confidence. The fear that runs through *In Memoriam* is the fear of the possible truth of science, or rather of what was judged to be metaphysical truth resulting from science: a universe material merely, and mechanistic in its nature. Is the soul a brain merely?

I trust I have not wasted breath:  
 I think we are not wholly brain,  
 Magnetic mockeries; not in vain,  
 Like Paul with beasts, I fought with Death;  
 Not only cunning casts in clay:  
 Let Science prove we are, and then  
 What matters Science unto men,  
 At least to me? I would not stay.

Perhaps. It might be so, or it might not. But the fear is not removed; and in fairness to Tennyson, he does not make out that it is. Was Hallam's death a piece of the workings of a merely material universe? Against this fear he could only place, what he called *In Memoriam*, wild and wandering cries, and

stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,  
 And gather dust and chaff, and call  
 To what I feel is Lord of all,  
 And faintly trust the larger hope;

he *faintly* trusted the larger hope. But the perception of a dead universe still largely occupied his mind. Science was an external



testimony to this, he supposed; and he could not forget it. And could poetry (and religion for that matter) stand and hold their own against this frightful possibility? *In Memoriam* shows the spirit of poetry, pleading, half-despairfully, against summary execution; and under these circumstances it can hardly act as a discovery and an illumination. But *The Prelude* envisages nothing that could occupy the role of lord and judge over poetry; it manifests truth which is its own testimony; besides, it is the breath and finer spirit of *all* knowledge: the other modes of knowing provide knowledge at all only by virtue of the poetry that is in them. Tennyson saw science as a counter-claimant; Wordsworth saw it as deriving its life from poetry and as never falling therefore wholly outside its scope and command.

I only add before going on that it is not here a question of depreciating Tennyson and *In Memoriam*; my business is in the first place that of an historian, not of a critic; and it is natural to believe that the assurance Wordsworth possessed and Tennyson did not, an assurance in the first place in poetry and secondly in the spiritual nature of the universe, was harder to come by in the thirties and forties of the last century than some forty years earlier. We have also to remember that Cambridge meant more to Tennyson than to Wordsworth; it was not only the clock that was loquacious at Trinity in Tennyson's time; the Apostles had not met and talked for no reason and with no consequence; and universities are not, after all, *always* negligible in their effects, whether for good or evil.

## VIII

Now it is in view of the considerations I have been putting forward that we can best understand certain other great, but subsidiary, differences between the two poetries. The difference between the two dictions becomes natural: Wordsworth sought and (when all is said and done) achieved a notable plainness and simplicity which was animated by his sense of the nature of poetry; Tennyson's poetry has a kind of elaborateness even when Tennyson is being 'simple'. But I shall say no more of this; and I pass to another aspect of comparison of which I wish to speak briefly before proceeding to a conclusion. It has to do with the role of the natural world in the minds and writings of Wordsworth and Tennyson. I said that we see in *The Prelude* how landscape was raised by Wordsworth's imagination into an impassioned revelation. Wordsworth does not give us a *treatment*

of nature, nor a *rendering* of nature; we must remember that he was well pleased to recognize

In nature and the language of the sense  
The anchor of his purest thoughts, the nurse,  
The guide, the guardian of his heart, and soul  
Of all his moral being;

nature was a paramount source of truth, a ministrant to him; it educated, stimulated and led on his mental powers; and it spelt out in the *language of the sense* what was for him spiritual truth. What he discerned to be truth he *saw* in the sights and sounds, the scenes and landscapes of the natural world; truth came to him in the images of nature, and his mind was succoured through his senses. Therefore nature was not a background, or a match, for mood and feeling; instead, Wordsworth's knowledge of it was an assimilation of it to himself; and it entered into his mind 'with all its solemn imagery'. This is only to say that it came to him not as fact for observation but as symbol for truth. It was to him both source and image of what is; and where it failed to image ultimate metaphysical truth, it led him on to the sense of what remains 'unprofaned by form or image' so that he forgot his 'bodily eyes',

and what he saw  
Appeared like something in himself, a dream,  
A prospect in the mind.

But this assimilation of nature to the mind, the reading of the spiritual in the language of sense, the erection of the visible into symbol, was hardly possible to Tennyson. We do not find it in his poetry; and we can understand Wordsworth's saying that Tennyson's poetry of nature was not spiritual enough. It has indeed much beauty; and it certainly is not lacking in the accuracy that Tennyson constantly sought. But it represents a way of seeing and treating nature which Wordsworth knew and transcended. He speaks of it in *The Prelude* as something he had known before the coming of his full power as a poet; it came from a condition described in the 1805 version as one

In which the eye was master of the heart;  
and he says a little farther on that his delights at this time

Such as they were, were sought insatiably,  
Though 'twas a transport of the outward sense,  
Not of the mind, vivid but not profound . . . ;

and the nature poetry of Tennyson is more of this order than of the order of the poetry of Wordsworth.

But my purpose is not to emphasize the superiority of Wordsworth's poetry of nature; it is only to observe a difference, and to say that this difference comes naturally from that other and major difference of which I have spoken. Tennyson had not the confidence, if he had the impulse, to pursue this road of knowledge; he could not passionately believe, as Wordsworth did, in the poetry of nature. There were paralysing doubts and uncertainties; and our wish must be, not to condemn, but to understand. In one sense, certainly, nature serves the poetry of Tennyson; he was too near to the Romantics not to be a poet of nature. But it is true that his attitude to the natural world is very other than Wordsworth's; that he renders it to us only; and that he does so 'vividly but not profoundly'. Mr. T. S. Eliot has spoken, as every one knows, of what he called a 'dissociation of sensibility' which set in in the seventeenth century and continued in the eighteenth. But Wordsworth overcame it: the meaning of life was conveyed to him in the images of nature, in sense and landscape, and in the contemplation of certain human figures. But once again, as in the seventeenth century, the play of science and philosophy was allowed to intervene to cleave the poetic mind; poetry lost its feeling of authenticity; it could not trust itself; and the result showed itself in much Victorian poetry.

## IX

I must now conclude; and I do so by recalling that the two poems of which I have been speaking are both autobiographical and each sets out what Tennyson called *In Memoriam*, the way of a soul. Now when we compare the ends to which the two 'ways' came, we acknowledge the certitude of Wordsworth's poetic faith and the absence of poetic vision in Tennyson's poem. There is much in *In Memoriam* for which we have good reason to be grateful; it is abundantly memorable a hundred years after its publication; and it is chiefly memorable for its moving rendering of a personal and metaphysical anguish and of the comfort which assuaged it. I am aware, as I have said, that it is not difficult to exhibit Tennyson as a lesser poet than Wordsworth; but I will venture to say that *In Memoriam* falls short in the weak hold it has upon the truth which I have said and, more important, which he himself said, chiefly animated Wordsworth, namely, that the highest beauty and love we can aspire to has terror in it; nor did Tennyson realize that metaphysical fear is no new creation of modern science. The poetry

of *In Memoriam* is a poetry which seeks to allay the terror and remove the fear, if that were possible; Tennyson seems not to have realized that it would be strange if the human mind were not confronted with these things, that these things must be suffered and not resisted: poetry is not a spell but a revelation, and it is a revelation which must come and can come only, in part, through fear. The solution Tennyson offers in *In Memoriam*, if solution it may be called, is that the fear is ungrounded and therefore put on one side; all may be well. But this was not Wordsworth's way. And so far as Wordsworth is concerned, I have said that his poetry is haunted by figures of dereliction. Man is indeed small, lost, unknowing; but in that smallness, lostness, and ignorance, if we have the courage to see it and face it, *is* the vision and the salvation. Wordsworth had the force and confidence of imagination to see this: the dereliction is visionary; and mankind, in the person of Wordsworth, with his courage and austerity, is not sorry for itself. But the Victorians had a way of being sorry for themselves, as Tennyson and Matthew Arnold were, in their different ways; and their poetry acts too much as a subtle beautifying of their alarm and self-pity, or as a false ennoblement. We read in *In Memoriam*:

So runs my dream: but what am I?  
 An infant crying in the night:  
 An infant crying for the light:  
 And with no language but a cry.

But Wordsworth is far from this. It is a far cry from Tennyson's infant crying in the night to the boy Wordsworth, lost and frightened indeed, in a heap of bare northern hills. But suddenly the desolate scene and the fear have become visionary; and the vision helped to remake Wordsworth when he had become a man. We cannot live by images such as that I have just quoted from Tennyson; if I may use the words of another Victorian about whom I have said a hard thing, poetry is nothing if it is not a criticism of life; and Wordsworth is greater than Tennyson because in his poetry the criticism of life (which is not an affair of doctrine but of perception and vision) is profounder and a richer enablement of life. He remains, a hundred years after his death, one of the masters, and a poet of strength and healing. It is hardly possible to stand today where Tennyson stood; and we see that this is so. But it is possible to go back to Wordsworth, and without offence to our intellect, for truth and strength and for the 'perennial sources of happiness'.



SIR ISRAEL GOLLANCZ MEMORIAL LECTURE

SOME REFLECTIONS ON CHAUCER'S 'ART  
POETICAL'

By DOROTHY EVERETT

*Read 15 November 1950*

WHEN the British Academy did me the honour of inviting me to give the Gollancz Memorial Lecture, I recalled a day long ago on which I had the privilege of visiting Sir Israel Gollancz at King's College, and of consulting him about a piece of work I was hoping to undertake. This seems the fitting occasion to record my gratitude for the kindly help and encouragement he then gave to a mere beginner, who had no claim upon him other than an interest in the Middle English writings to which he devoted so much of his life.

The third book of Chaucer's *House of Fame* opens with the poet's plea to Apollo to guide him in what he is about to write, a plea that echoes Dante's at the beginning of the *Paradiso*; but, instead of continuing as Dante does, Chaucer adds,

Nat that I wilne, for maistrye,  
Here art poetical be shewed.<sup>1</sup>

I am not going to consider in detail what precisely Chaucer meant by 'art poetical'; I shall assume that, in this context, the expression, like the word 'craft', which seems to be used as a synonym a few lines later, implies knowledge of how to write poetry (or skill in writing it) according to established rules. This is, I think, in line with what many medieval writers understood by 'art'.<sup>2</sup>

Chaucer's statement in the *House of Fame* that he does not wish to manifest such knowledge or skill reminds one of other passages in which he, or sometimes one of his characters, disclaims any power as a writer or speaker but that of plain speech. More than once what is specifically disclaimed is a knowledge of the 'colours' of rhetoric.<sup>3</sup> 'Thyng that I speke, it moot be bare and pleyn' says the Franklin, and adds, 'Colours ne knowe I none'. It can therefore, I think, be assumed that, to Chaucer, 'art poetical' could mean, more particularly, knowledge of poetic art (or, as we might call it, technique) as

set out in such medieval treatises as Geoffroi de Vinsauf's *Nova Poetria* (which Chaucer certainly knew) and the *Ars versificatoria* of Matthieu de Vendôme—treatises in which certain parts of the old doctrine of *rhetorica* are applied to poetry. Whatever be the reason for Chaucer's disclaimers—and it should be remarked that they usually occur in works which are by no means devoid of poetic art in the sense in which I am thinking of it—they suggest a consciousness on his part, perhaps even an acute consciousness, of the kind of thing they disclaim.

The effect which the teaching of the so-called rhetoricians (Geoffroi de Vinsauf, Matthieu de Vendôme and the rest) had on Chaucer's writing has been discussed by a number of scholars, notably by the late Professor Manly.<sup>4</sup> Attention has been drawn to Chaucer's artificial beginnings, his use of some of the means of amplification described in the treatises, and his frequent introduction of certain rhetorical tropes and figures. The tendency in several of these discussions has been to consider such features in Chaucer's poetry more or less in isolation, and to look upon them as mere ornaments, appendages to something which could have existed without them,<sup>5</sup> and which, it is sometimes implied, would have been the better for their absence. This attitude is natural enough, for as one reads the late twelfth and early thirteenth century Arts of Poetry which have been mainly considered in relation to Chaucer, they do suggest a purely mechanical conception of poetry. But, to understand fully the influence which these treatises had on medieval poets, I think it is necessary to keep in mind the purpose for which they were written. Several of them were school-books, written either by school-masters, or for them.<sup>6</sup> They were intended for use in teaching boys who had already received instruction in *grammatica*, that is (to paraphrase one of the well-known definitions) who had been taught how to interpret authors (including poets) and how to write and speak correctly.<sup>7</sup> The treatises of the so-called rhetoricians seem to have been designed to carry this elementary study farther by directing attention to certain aspects of poetical composition not already considered, including the use of rhetorical tropes and 'colours'. It is likely that, as in the earlier study of *grammatica*, a boy was expected to learn both by analysis and by composition (of course in Latin).<sup>8</sup> Inevitably, those so trained (which means, I suppose, the majority of educated men) would come to think of poetry largely in terms of the statements and descriptions they had been taught, and, if a man were himself a poet, he would, both consciously and

unconsciously, apply what he had learnt to his own writing.<sup>9</sup> That this resulted in some excessively ornate verse, we know; but it has of late years been recognized that there were also other, quite different, results, of more fundamental importance for literature. Professor Vinaver has claimed that it was from the study of *rhetorica* (at least partly as presented in treatises of the kind I have mentioned) that medieval French writers of romance learnt how to organize their stories so as to express a particular point of view; and he has shown that the form of, for instance, the *Suite du Merlin* is the result of using the device of *digressio* to explain the story. Writing of the general significance of the study of rhetoric in the earlier Middle Ages, Professor Vinaver says, 'The discipline which in the later Middle Ages was to be largely reduced to mere stylistic ornamentation had not at that time lost its original composing function. In a number of important works embodying the doctrine of the rhetoricians from Quintilian onwards the term *colores rhetoricae* refers, as in Cicero, not so much to formal elaboration as to the 'treatment of the matter' from the speaker's or writer's point of view'.<sup>10</sup> Professor Vinaver then goes on to show that there is 'a significant agreement in this respect' between Quintilian and certain medieval writers, even as late as John of Salisbury.

There is one point in this passage to which I would object—the assumption that it was no longer possible to regard rhetoric in this way in the later Middle Ages. I believe that, for a number of English poets of the late fourteenth century, *rhetorica* still had some of its old 'composing function'. In particular, I think that it can be shown that Chaucer dealt with certain problems of presentation and organization in ways which are traceable, though certainly not always directly, to rhetorical teaching.<sup>11</sup>

I shall begin with a simple example, the opening stanza of the *Parlement of Foules*. The first line, 'The lyf so short, the craft so long to lerne', has often been remarked on as an instance of one of the artificial ways of beginning a poem—the beginning with a *sententia*—and there are several other rhetorical devices in the stanza. But what is interesting is the way the devices are used. Chaucer's subject in the *Parlement* was to be love, a subject familiar enough in the courtly poetry of his day. His problem was to introduce it so as immediately to arrest the attention of his hearers or readers.<sup>12</sup> What he does is to take the well-known *sententia* 'Ars longa, vita brevis' and use it as a circumlocutory description of his subject. Its form, that of a *contentio* (two contrasted phrases, here applied to the same thing) is arresting, and



Chaucer emphasizes it by adding a second circumlocution in the same form,

‘Th’assay so hard, so sharp the conquerynge.’

The third line repeats the pattern with a difference, the phrase ‘the dredful joye’ itself containing a contrast, and being amplified by a descriptive phrase, ‘alwey that slit so yerne’. Then comes the point to which Chaucer has been leading—‘Al this mene I by love’. Having thus given great stress to the idea of love, and at the same time provided some indication of the kind of love he is going to write of, Chaucer amplifies the idea by another descriptive phrase suggesting love’s mysterious power and something of his own attitude towards it—

Al this mene I by love, that my felynge  
Astonyeth with his wonderful werkyng  
So sore iwis, that whan I on hym thynke,  
Nat wot I wel wher that I flete or synke.

This analysis, I hope, makes it clear that the rhetorical devices used here are not, as it were, appended to the fabric of the stanza; they are themselves the fabric. The problem of how to present the subject effectively has been solved entirely by rhetorical methods.

It may be objected that the *Parlement* is a comparatively early work, written when Chaucer was most under the influence of the rhetoricians. In answer to this, I would suggest that the opening of the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, though more complex, is organized on lines which are not dissimilar. To present the idea of spring which, as it revivifies all things, fires men with the desire to go on pilgrimage, Chaucer once again begins with several circumlocutory descriptive phrases (each, it may incidentally be noted, displaying some ‘colour’ of rhetoric),

Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote  
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote . . .  
Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth  
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth  
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne  
Hath in the Ram his halve cours yronne . . .

Finally he comes to his point,

‘Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages.’

From *Troilus and Criseyde* one other example may be quoted which is not, like these two, from the beginning of a work.

Chaucer has told how Troilus was struck 'atte fulle' by the god of love, and he wishes us to see his case in wider perspective. We are to understand that, for all his pride, Troilus could not hope to escape love. It was his destiny, as it is every man's. Chaucer begins with the apostrophe,

O blynde world, O blynde entencioun!  
 How often falleth al the effect contraire  
 Of surquidrie and foul presumpcioun;  
 For kaught is proud, and kaught is debonaire.  
 This Troilus is clomben on the staire,  
 And litel weneth that he moot descenden;  
 But alday failleth thing that fooles wenden.<sup>13</sup>

The *sententia* which forms the last line of this stanza is followed by the comparison of Troilus to 'proude Bayard', kept in check by the whip, and this in turn by an apostrophe to 'worthi folkes alle' to take example from Troilus not to scorn love, 'For may no man fordon the lawe of kynde'.

I have chosen to illustrate the rhetorical presentation of an idea, but Chaucer uses similar methods for other purposes, for the presentation of an argument, for instance, as when the old hag in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* discourses to her husband on the true nature of 'gentillesse' and the virtues of poverty, or when Pluto and Proserpyne, in the *Merchant's Tale*, dispute about January's predicament.<sup>14</sup> Most of all he uses these methods in description; but instances of descriptions rhetorically presented are so common in his work at all periods that there is no need for me to 'sermoun of it more'.

To catch the hearer's or the reader's attention and fix it on an idea is one thing; it is a different matter to ensure that his mind will retain that idea for just as long as the poet wishes. In the early *Book of the Duchess*, Chaucer employs, for this end, a means which, in our day, Mr. T. S. Eliot has found effective—that of verbal repetition.<sup>15</sup> The opening lines of the poem, in which the poet complains that he cannot sleep, contain a succession of phrases expressing the main idea, 'withoute slep', 'I may nat slepe', 'defaute of slep', the last two of which occur more than once. This might be thought accidental, but further examination of the poem shows that it is not. There is an echo of these phrases a little later when Chaucer is about to relate how he took a book to 'drive the night away'; and, when he has finished reading about Ceys and Alcyone, and is telling how this story gave him the idea of praying to the god of sleep for help,<sup>16</sup> his lines echo and re-echo with phrases containing the

words 'sleep' or 'sleeping', in the following order, 'defaute of slep', 'For I ne myghte, for bote ne bale, Slepe', 'goddes of slepyng', 'goddes that koude make Men to slepe', 'defaute of slepyng', 'make me slepe', 'make me slepe a lyte', 'to slepe softe', 'make me slepe sone'. These all occur in about forty lines; they culminate, some ten lines farther on, in the statement,

Such a lust anoon me took  
To slepe, that ryght upon my book  
Y fil aslepe.

Other parts of the *Book of the Duchess* show a similar, though usually less frequent and less effective, repetition of what one may call a key-word or key-phrase. In the passage describing the hunt, the words 'hunt', 'hunting', 'hunte' ('hunters'), 'hunten' recur, and a little later the changes are rung on the words 'floury', 'floures'. It would, I think, be possible to show that in the first part of the description of the poet's dream, almost every paragraph has its own key-word or phrase, and though the practice is less marked later, there are still signs of it, for example in ll. 617-54, where the word 'fals', first introduced in the phrase 'fals Fortune', appears again and again.

This kind of verbal repetition is not confined to Chaucer's early work. There is a more restrained and more subtle use of it in the *Prioress's Tale*. The word 'litel', several times repeated in the opening stanzas ('A litel scole', 'A litel clergeon', 'This litel child, his litel book lernynge'), is caught up from time to time, later in the tale, in the phrases 'this litel child', 'hir litel child', 'My litel child'. The reiteration of this word is doubly effective, as recalling the boy martyr who 'so yong and tendre was of age', and as a reminder of the teller of the tale, with whose nature it is so perfectly in keeping. With the line, 'He Alma redemptoris herde synge', a second *motif* is introduced, which is reflected by the repetition, at intervals throughout the rest of the tale, both of word 'synge' (or 'song') and of some part of the phrase 'O Alma redemptoris mater'. The two combine in a triumphant line when the martyred child is lying on his bier before the high altar—

Yet spak this child, whan spreynd was hooly water,  
And song O Alma redemptoris mater.<sup>17</sup>

The opening sections of the *Book of the Duchess* also provide the first hints for another use of repetition. The repeated word 'slepe', besides sounding the key-note of a passage, serves as a link between one paragraph and another some distance from it.

This use of repetition, as a device to link different parts of a work, is also to be found in Chaucer's later poems. An instance of it in the *Canterbury Tales*, the echo in the Merchant's Prologue of the last line of the Clerk's Envoy, is well known; but it is, I think, worth while to look at it again. The Clerk has followed up his tale of Griselda with the warning that 'Grisilde is deed and eek hire pacience', and then, addressing wives, he ironically bids them, 'sharply taak on yow the governaille'. He concludes,

Be ay of chiere as light as leef on lynde,  
And lat hym [the husband] care, and wepe, and wrynge and waille.

This is too much for the Merchant, who bursts out,

Wepying and waylyng, care and oother sorwe  
I knowe ynogh . . . ,

and he explains that he has a wife, 'the worste that may be', to whom he has been wedded just two months. Here the Merchant's repetition of the Clerk's words acts as a mechanical link between two tales; but it does much more than this. It reveals at once the overcharged heart of the Merchant and so prepares us for the bitter tone of the tale that follows.

A rather different effect is produced by the same device in the *Parlement of Foules*. In Chaucer's account of the *Somnium Scipionis*, Africanus tells Scipio that

what man, lered other lewed,  
That lovedede commune profyt, wel ithewed,  
He shulde into a blysful place wende,  
There as joye is that last withouten ende.

The words 'blysful place' are again used by Africanus at the end of the dream, and are kept in mind during the course of it by the phrases 'hevene blisse' and 'that ful of blysse is'. When Chaucer has ceased his reading, which has given him a hint of celestial bliss, he falls asleep and is himself led by Africanus to a gate which we shall presently know to be the entrance to the garden of love. The first inscription he reads over the gate runs,

Thorgh me men gon into that blysful place  
Of hertes hele and dedly woundes cure.

So, at the moment of entering the garden of love, we are made to recall that other 'blysful place'.<sup>18</sup>

One more instance, from the *Merchant's Tale*. Chaucer tells us that the young wife May is so moved by pity for the squire

Damyan that she decides to grant him her grace. 'Whom that this thyng displesse, I rekke noght', she says to herself. This is the prelude to her deception of her old husband and, at this point, Chaucer slips in the words which he twice uses elsewhere in the *Canterbury Tales*,

Lo, pitee renneth soone in gentil herte!

The repetition reveals, as nothing else could, the gulf between May's pity for Damyan, and the pity of Duke Theseus for the rival lovers or of the innocent Canacee for the deserted falcon.<sup>19</sup>

It would be well to consider at this point how Chaucer's practice in this matter of verbal repetition is related to the teaching of the rhetoricians. They recognize, among the 'colours' of rhetoric, seven or eight varieties of verbal repetition, minutely distinguished by such characteristics as the position of the repeated words in the sentence (*repetitio*, *conversio*, *complexio*), whether the repetition is of identical or similar sounds, either in related forms or otherwise (*annominatio*), or of words with the same sound but different meanings (a species of *transductio*). Some of these rigidly defined varieties of repetition are to be found in Chaucer's writings, but most of the instances I have just been considering could not, I believe, be classified under any of the types mentioned in the treatises. Moreover, the rhetoricians do not as a rule make any suggestion as to how or why repetition should be used. It is not possible, therefore, to claim that Chaucer learnt the kind of practice which I have illustrated directly from the precepts of the rhetoricians.<sup>20</sup> This, however, is not what I am trying to show; but rather—to repeat what I said earlier—that in certain problems of presentation or organization he used methods adapted from the teaching of the rhetoricians or in some way traceable to its influence. Sometimes he combined a number of devices actually described in the treatises known to us, as he does at the beginning of the *Parlement of Foules* or of the *General Prologue*. Sometimes he adapted devices (that is, either devices actually mentioned by the rhetoricians or others like them) to special purposes which the rhetoricians themselves need not have considered. Here his use of verbal repetition as a linking device may possibly be included, though I think that even this is likely to be an over-simplification of the facts. This particular use of repetition is not confined to Chaucer; it appears elsewhere in medieval poetry, particularly perhaps in Middle English alliterative poetry. There are traces of it in *Lazamon's Brut* and the alliterative *Morte Arthure*; and in *Purity (Cleanness)* the repetition of part, or the whole, of the text

of the homily helps to link the several Biblical stories which illustrate it.<sup>21</sup> Chaucer may have known in earlier or contemporary poetry something which gave him a hint of the possibilities of repetition as a linking device, and he may have been consciously influenced by that. In that case his use of the device is traceable to the teaching of the rhetoricians only in the widest possible sense—that a poet trained in that teaching could hardly have failed to observe it and to consider its value for purposes of presentation.

It was necessary to make a distinction between a slavish imitation of the devices which the rhetoricians describe, and the adaptation of these devices, or others like them, to individual ends, because most of the examples of Chaucer's methods which I am going to consider next may not seem to have any connexion with the Arts of Poetry. All these examples have to do with a major problem of organization, the layout (or *dispositio*) of a poem as a whole, or of a large part of it; and more than one critic has pointed out that the rhetoricians have little to say about this.

For my first example I turn once again to the *Book of the Duchess*. We have here the unusual advantage of knowing the occasion for which it was written. We can say with certainty that, in the poet's dream of the Black Knight who is grieving for the loss of his dead lady, Chaucer figures the loss which John of Gaunt suffered in the death of his wife Blanche. Before this dream begins, however, there is a long introductory passage which includes the story of Ceys and Alcyone. Chaucer gives a reason for the inclusion of this story when he tells us that the reading of it gave him the idea of praying to Morpheus for sleep. But there is another, unstated reason, of much more significance for the poem as a whole. The real point of the story for Chaucer was that it told of a wife's grief for the loss of her husband, and thus provided a parallel, with a difference, to the main theme of the poem. (That Chaucer meant it to be so understood is clear from his omission of the beautiful end of Ovid's story; for the transformation of Ceys and Alcyone into birds, and their happy reunion, have no part in the parallel.)<sup>22</sup> To the medieval mind, accustomed to look behind appearances to the inner meaning, this story, and the dream of the Black Knight, could be two examples of the same theme—the loss of a loved one and the grief of the one who is left. Looked at in this way, Chaucer's organization of this poem could, I think, be regarded as a special application of Geoffroi de Vinsauf's first means of amplification, *interpretatio*, of which he writes, 'let the same thing

be covered in many forms; be various and yet the same' ('multiplice forma dissimuletur idem; varius sis et tamen idem'.)<sup>23</sup>

There is an obvious similarity between the lay-out of the *Book of the Duchess* and that of the earlier part of the *Parlement of Foules*. In the *Parlement* the poet places side by side two visions, the one read in a book and concerned with the blissful place that awaits the righteous who work for common profit, the other concerned with that blissful place, which, to some, is the 'wey to al good aventure', but brings others to the 'mortal strokes of the spere'—that is, the garden of love. The two visions are linked, not merely verbally, but by the fact that Africanus is the guide in both.<sup>24</sup> But the similarity of this arrangement to that of the *Book of the Duchess* is only partial, for the two stories in the earlier poem are parallels, but the two visions in the *Parlement* are parallel only in form; in significance they present a contrast. This is never stated, for the contrast between heavenly and earthly bliss, which Chaucer makes explicitly at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*, would be too weighty a matter for this much lighter poem. Yet I think it is just hinted at in the lines at the end of the first vision where the poet tells us that, on finishing his book, he went to bed,

Fulfyld of thought and busy hevynesse;  
For bothe I hadde thyng which that I nolde,  
And ek I nadde that thyng that I wolde.<sup>25</sup>

Later in this poem another contrast is suggested by the descriptions of the two goddesses, Venus and Nature. Chaucer first describes Venus lying in a dark corner of the temple which, he has told us, is filled with the sound of 'sykes (sighs) hootes as fyr - - - - Whiche sikes were engendered with desyr'. Then he presents Nature, the deputy of that almighty Lord who knits the discordant elements into a harmony. Nature sits, surrounded by the birds, on a hill of flowers, and Chaucer remarks that her halls and bowers were made of branches. Again no explicit contrast is made; the two juxtaposed descriptions merely hint at the difference between courtly love and the natural love of creature for creature which will culminate in the unions of the lesser birds.

This method of presenting, in more or less parallel forms, two things which are essentially to be contrasted cannot be directly related to anything recommended by the rhetoricians, though Matthieu de Vendôme's portraits of Helen and Beroe, which present the antithesis of beauty and ugliness, could possibly

have provided some suggestion for it.<sup>26</sup> But it may well have been developed by Chaucer himself from his use of parallels in the *Book of the Duchess*. The more complex scheme was perhaps more after Chaucer's mind. Certainly he makes a masterly use of it in the *Canterbury Tales*, when the Miller 'quits' the Knight's noble tale of the rivalry of Palamon and Arcite for Emelye with the low comedy of the rivalry of the two Oxford clerks for the carpenter's wife. Here, too, there is a verbal link, when the line spoken by the dying Arcite is applied to Nicholas in his neat chamber—'Allone, withouten any compaignye'.

I turn next to some of Chaucer's tales, and I shall begin with the *Knight's Tale*, the presentation of which has, perhaps, something in common with what I have been describing, though it is, of course, far more complex. But, before I can go 'streght to my matere', I must digress a little to consider, though very sketchily, some of the ways in which parallels are used by other medieval story-tellers. Parallelism, of one kind or another, is, of course, a marked feature of medieval story-telling. In its simplest form, it consists in a repetition of the same incident with some variation in detail. This is what we often find in folk-tales, and in many medieval romances which are derived from them. There is an instance of it in Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* where, as in other versions of the Constance story known to us, the heroine is twice set adrift in an open boat. In this form the parallelism can have nothing to do with rhetorical teaching, though it witnesses, I suppose, to some primitive feeling for an ordered narrative. But this simple device was developed in various ways by story-tellers who had something of their own to express. One development has been explained by Professor Vinaver in his introduction to the French romance of *Balain*. In this romance, Balain has many and various adventures which appear to be quite unconnected with one another, but, as Professor Vinaver has shown, they are actually 'parallels' in the sense that they all illustrate the same thing, the *mescheance* ('ill-fortune') which finally overwhelms Balain.<sup>27</sup> (It may be remarked, incidentally, that this seems to have something in common with Chaucer's method in the *Book of the Duchess*. To it, too, one could apply Geoffroi de Vinsauf's words, 'multiplice forma dissimuletur idem'). This way of presenting a story does, as Professor Vinaver claims, render it coherent and emotionally satisfying; but it has the obvious disadvantage of leaving it shapeless. Yet, in parallelism itself there are the beginnings of design, as we can see from folk-tales; and this



potentiality was also developed in medieval poetry. The Middle English romance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is an outstanding example of how, by means of parallel incidents and descriptions, a narrative can be fashioned into a comprehensive pattern. The poet of *Gawain* was not, however, content merely to produce a formal order. His interest was in knightly virtue, and particularly the virtue of 'courtesy', as illustrated in the character of Gawain; and the incidents of the story have meaning and coherence because they throw light upon the various aspects of Gawain's 'courtesy', just as Balain's many adventures are given meaning by the underlying theme of *mescheance*. The *Gawain* poet has, in fact, seen how to use his parallels in two ways at once, so as to produce both an internal and an external order.

Chaucer never wrote anything quite like this, but his *Knight's Tale*, though less completely patterned, is nevertheless an example of a narrative comprehensively organized for a particular end; and again the organization largely depends on a skilful use of parallelism. In a recent article, to which I am very much indebted in what I shall say about this tale, Mr. William Frost remarks that:

Much of the beauty of the Knight's Tale . . . resides in a certain formal regularity of design. Thus the May-songs of Emelye and Arcite . . . come at two crucial points in the plot; while early May is also the time of the final contest that will make one hero happy and the other glorious. Thus the Tale begins with a wedding, a conquest and a funeral; and ends with a tournament, a funeral and a wedding.<sup>28</sup>

These are, of course, relatively unimportant parts of the design, but they are interesting because they indicate how comprehensive the design is. At the centre of it, so to speak, there are the two knights, Arcite and Palemon, and, in order that our attention may not be distracted from them, Emelye's part in the action is diminished (as compared with that of Boccaccio's Emilia),<sup>29</sup> so that she is little more than the beautiful object of their desire.

Mr. Frost has remarked on the 'systematic and delicately balanced parallelism' of Chaucer's presentation of Arcite and Palemon, and on the fact that this parallelism intensifies the problem of who shall win Emily. It should also be noticed that it throws into relief the one point in which the heroes differ. Though Chaucer makes them similar in age, rank, and fortune, and in general individualizes them little, he does differentiate them in the one point that matters for the story—their behaviour as lovers. Moreover, he remodels Boccaccio's account of their

first sight of Emelye so that the impact of love immediately reveals this difference. In Chaucer's story it is Palemon who first sees Emelye, and it is only he who takes her to be the goddess Venus.<sup>30</sup> Arcite knows at once that she is a woman, and is quick to recognize that henceforth he and Palemon are rivals. It is he who casts aside the ties of friendship, declaring,

Ech man for hymself: ther is noon oother.

The significance of this scene is well brought out by Mr. Frost. It marks the beginning of the conflict and at the same time prepares the way for the resolving of it. For Arcite, who has shown himself to be what is now called a 'realist' in love and in friendship, will pray to Mars for victory in the tournament, believing that thereby he will win Emelye; but Palemon will care nothing for victory and will simply beg Venus, 'Yif me my love, thow blisful lady deere'. So, when Mars and Venus are allowed to grant the two suppliants what they asked for, it follows that Arcite will be victorious, but must die before he can possess Emelye, and that Palemon will be defeated, but will win Emelye in the end. Chaucer leaves no loose end; even the broken friendship is repaired in the dying Arcite's generous words about Palemon. The conclusion is a neat and, one might almost say, logical result of the one difference in the two men who were in so many ways alike.

If this were all there is to the tale, I think one would object that it is too neat and logical to be just. Certainly one might feel this strongly in the case of Arcite, who cannot be thought to have fully deserved his cruel fate. But there is, of course, another aspect of Chaucer's tale. He inherited from Boccaccio's *Teseida* the conflict between Mars and Venus, of which the conflict between the two knights is a reflection on the earthly plane; he also inherited the parallelism between Saturn's function, as arbiter between Mars and Venus, and Theseus's function, as arbiter between the knights. The parallelism between Saturn and Theseus Chaucer developed farther. The story of Palemon and Arcite becomes in his hands an illustration of the power which destiny wields over man. This theme is emphasized at the beginning by the victims themselves. 'Fortune hath yeven us this adversitee', says Arcite, of their imprisonment, 'We moste endure it; this is the short and playn'; and a little later Palemon is railing at the 'cruel goddes that governe This world with byndyng of youre word eterne'. As they complain, they are the prisoners of Theseus, who at all times in the story has

power of life and death over them. So, the control which the gods have over man is made manifest in the material world by the power of Theseus; he is (to quote Mr. Frost again) the 'executant of destiny' on earth, and in this respect, too, he parallels the functions of the planetary powers and, more particularly, of Saturn. But, according to the Boethian philosophy, which Chaucer is reflecting in this poem, the planetary powers are not the final arbiters. It is fittingly left to Theseus, who stands outside the conflict and can see a little more than the other human actors, to recall the 'Firste Moevere', 'the prince and cause of alle thyng', who, when he first made the fair chain of love, 'Wel wiste he why, and what thereof he mente'. With this concluding speech Theseus removes the human conflict, and its apparently unjust resolving, to a yet more distant plane where earthly affairs, however they may seem to men, are part of an established order, a plan in which, though man cannot hope to understand it, he should acquiesce.

I have tried to show only the main features of the organization of the *Knight's Tale*, but there is much on a lesser scale which reveals similar methods. I will mention one instance only. It is well known that, in place of Boccaccio's diffuse account of the many champions who come to fight for Palemon and Arcite, Chaucer describes two champions only, Lygurge and Emetreus. Thereby his story obviously gains in brevity, neatness, and vividness. What is more important, it also gains in significance. The two champions stand as representatives of the two opposing forces in the coming tournament, and so, ultimately, as representatives of the two rival knights. The two descriptions, though entirely different in detail, are alike in manner, suggesting the same kind of parallelism as between Palemon and Arcite, between things similar yet dissimilar. In several ways this comparatively minor piece of reorganization could be said to epitomize what Chaucer does in his tale as a whole.

It is a far cry from this finely ordered tale to the treatises of the rhetoricians, and I can produce no logical proof of a connexion between them. I can only hope that the various links which I have tried to establish between the Arts of Poetry and Chaucer's practice are sufficiently strong to support my feeling that this kind of order is the product of a genius which has known the discipline of a training in medieval rhetoric, or, more properly speaking, in the 'art' of poetry.

As my last examples I shall take three tales—the tales of the Pardoner, the Manciple, and the Nun's Priest—in which the

methods of presentation are much more directly related to rhetorical teaching. Indeed, it can be said of all three, diverse as they are in subject and mood, that in them Chaucer used rhetorical methods more or less as the rhetoricians themselves intended. Manly remarked of the *Pardoner's Tale* that the story of the three rioters displays Chaucer's 'advanced method' (by which he meant that the rhetorical influence in it is slight) and that 'the long passages of rhetoric, placed between the opening twenty lines, . . . and the narrative itself, are thoroughly explained and justified by their function as part of the Pardoner's sermon'.<sup>31</sup> This, I think, gives a false impression. The *Pardoner's Tale* does not consist of a more or less unadorned story plus some passages of rhetoric. On the contrary, the whole discourse which is known as the tale of the Pardoner is a closely integrated unity. In the opening twenty lines to which Manly refers, the Pardoner provides the setting for a story by describing a company of 'yonge folk that haunteden folye'. As he explains, these young folk spent their time whoring, playing at dice, eating and drinking excessively, and swearing oaths,

so greet and so dampnable  
That it is grisly for to heere hem swere.

The Pardoner then pauses to dilate upon some of these sins, in particular upon lechery, gluttony, gambling, and swearing. He uses for this purpose various means of amplification, apostrophe and *exemplum* being his favourites. When he has finished inveighing against the sins, he tells the terrible tale of the three rioters.<sup>32</sup> This is an impressive illustration, not only of his favourite theme, 'Radix malorum est cupiditas,' but also of what may befall those who commit the sins he has preached against, and he rounds it off with a final apostrophe against homicide, gluttony, hasardry, and swearing. The story and the tirade against the sins are so closely connected with one another that one can either regard the story as an *exemplum* illustrating the tirade, or one can consider the story as the central point and the dilations upon the sins as amplifications of it. Either way, the whole tale is organized according to rhetorical methods.

But this organization is for a special purpose. By his words at the end of his Prologue,

A moral tale yet I yow telle kan  
Which I am wont to preche . . .

the Pardoner has led the reader to expect something related to a sermon. What Chaucer gives him is not a sermon constructed

according to the elaborate rules of the *Artes praedicandi* (which would, in any case, have been unsuited to the Pardoner's usual audience, and his present one); but a tale so presented that it will create the illusion of a sermon. It has some of the regular features of a sermon. The theme is known, for the Pardoner has said that he has only one. His final apostrophe against the sins acts as a peroration, and is followed by a benediction.<sup>33</sup> In his dilations upon the sins of hasardry and swearing there is a slight suggestion of the 'division' of the theme, so essential a part of the medieval sermon; for these are branches of avarice, as appears from a passage in the treatise on the seven deadly sins which forms part of the *Parson's Tale*—a passage which is actually echoed by the Pardoner.<sup>34</sup> But, for the most part, the illusion depends upon the Pardoner's examples, especially the Scriptural ones at the beginning, and on his direct attacks upon the sins, or the sinner—

O glotonye, ful of cursednesse!  
O cause first of oure confusioun!

and,

O dronke man, disfigured is thy face . . .

It depends, that is, on a few common rhetorical devices—devices fitting for a preacher and appropriate in the mouth of the Pardoner, who has told us that, as he preaches,

Myne handes and my tonge goon so yerne,  
That it is joye to se my bisynesse.

So the tale is shaped for its ultimate purpose, the completing of the portrait of the Pardoner; but that purpose is only fully achieved by the complex pattern of irony which Chaucer has woven into it. The Pardoner, who feels himself to be so much cleverer than his victims, delights in and confidently exploits the cheap irony of his preaching against his own vice,

I preche of no thyng but for coveityse.  
Therfore my theme is yet, and evere was,  
Radix malorum est cupiditas.

He is not, however, as clever as he believes himself to be, for the Host is not gulled by him. But this is a small part of his self-deception; its full extent is revealed by his own sermon. In his tale of the three rioters, who went out to seek for death and—after they had given up the search—found it at one another's hands, there is an irony which cuts so much deeper than any the Pardoner shows himself to be conscious of, that we feel him,

equally with them, to be the victim of it. He understands no more than they that the wages of sin is death.<sup>35</sup>

It is a descent from this tale to the Manciple's. Yet, in its method, the *Manciple's Tale* resembles the Pardoner's, and even more closely the Nun's Priest's, and I doubt whether it is any more dependent for its form on rhetorical devices than they are. When, therefore, it is condemned as being over-rhetorical, it would seem to be condemned for the wrong reason. The real difference between it and the other two tales is that, in it, Chaucer appears to have been interested in rhetorical devices only for their own sake; there is no motive for the amplification of the story of Phoebus and the crow.

In the *Nun's Priest's Tale* Chaucer uses almost every means of amplification known to the rhetoricians, *interpretatio*, *comparatio*, *prosopopeia*, apostrophe, digression, description; and he uses them precisely as the rhetoricians intended, to amplify, or extend, the little tale of the cock and the fox. It may be objected that this is a different case altogether, that here Chaucer is ridiculing the rhetoricians and he used their own methods to show them up. He is, of course, amusing himself at their expense; this would be clear if there were no echoes of Geoffroi's *Nova Poetria*<sup>36</sup> and no allusion to his famous apostrophe on the death of Richard I,

O Gaufred, deere maister soverayn . . .  
Why ne hadde I now thy sentence and thy loore  
The Friday for to chide, as diden ye?

But, when this mockery is quoted (as it sometimes is) to prove that Chaucer saw the folly of applying rhetorical methods to poetry, it should be remembered that, if he is here attacking rhetorical methods, he is at the same time attacking much of his own most serious poetry. The apostrophe, 'O destinee, that mayst nat been eschewed!' is not in itself more ridiculous than some of Troilus's bitter outcries against Fortune. The joke lies in the incongruity between the high-sounding line and the farmyard birds to whose fate it refers—

O destinee, that mayst nat been eschewed!  
Allas, that Chauntecleer fleigh fro the bemes!  
Alas, his wyf ne roghte nat of dremes!

The joke is a better one if it is recognized that fine apostrophes and tragic *exempla* have their proper functions. It is the best joke of all for those who, like Chaucer and presumably his readers, had been taught the rhetorical doctrine of the three styles, and

knew that the only fitting style for the farmyard was the *stylus humilis*.<sup>37</sup>

I would ask you to consider for a moment what would happen to the *Nun's Priest's Tale* if all traces of rhetorical amplification were to be removed from it. (This means the delightful descriptions of the cock and the hens as well as Chauntecleer's examples of prophetic dreams, the apostrophes, asides, and so on.) There would be nothing left but the bare bones of the story, something utterly different in kind from the subtly humorous poem which Chaucer created for a quick-witted and sophisticated audience. It is inconceivable that Chaucer should not have been aware of the extent to which the structure of his story, and all that gave it its special quality, depended on rhetorical methods. Chaucer often makes fun of things for which he had a serious regard, and particularly in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* he mockingly alludes to many things in which he elsewhere shows deep interest—the significance of dreams, for example, and the question of predestination and free will. So it seems to me likely that if, as we read the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, we laugh too heartily and unthinkingly at the rhetoricians, there is a danger that Chaucer may be laughing at us.

## NOTES

1. *House of Fame*, 1094–5. Quotations are from *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson.
2. Several medieval definitions of art are given by E. de Bruyne, *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, ii (1946), 371 ff. He sums up as follows: '... le Moyen-Âge . . . distingue nettement le théoricien (artifex theorice) de celui que nous appelons le créateur (artifex practice). Le premier parle de l'art, le second agit par art. Mais chez l'un comme chez l'autre, la dignité de l'art vient de sa participation à un savoir organisé. Le Moyen-Âge ne s'imagine pas un artiste qui "ignore" les règles de son métier' (p. 374).
3. See *Canterbury Tales*, *Franklin's Prologue*, F 716–27, *Squire's Tale*, F 34–41, 102–8. The eagle in the *House of Fame* (853 ff.) is proud of his power to explain things simply. Pandarus deliberately eschews 'subtyl art' (*Troilus and Criseyde*, ii. 255 ff.)
4. See J. M. Manly, *Chaucer and the Rhetoricians* (Warton Lecture on English Poetry, xvii, 1926); T. Naunin, *Der Einfluss der mittelalterlichen Rhetorik auf Chaucers Dichtung* (Bonn, 1929); F. E. Teager, 'Chaucer's Eagle and the Rhetorical Colors', *P.M.L.A.* xlvii (1932); M. P. Hamilton, 'Notes on Chaucer and the Rhetoricians', *P.M.L.A.* xlvii (1932). The following also deal, in various ways, with the relations between Chaucer's writings and rhetorical teaching: R. C. Goffin, 'Chaucer and "Reason"', *M.L.R.* xxi (1926) and 'Chaucer and Elocution', *Med. Aev.* iv (1935); C. S. Baldwin, 'Cicero on Parnassus', *P.M.L.A.* xlii (1927) and *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (1928); B. S. Harrison, 'Medieval Rhetoric in the

'Book of the Duchess', *P.M.L.A.* xlix (1934) and 'The Rhetorical Inconsistency of Chaucer's Franklin', *S in Ph.* xxxii (1935); J. W. H. Atkins, *English Literary Criticism: The Medieval Phase* (1943).

5. An exception is G. Plessow's discussion of the *Manciple's Tale* (*Des Haushälters Erzählung*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), in which he shows that the tale is largely built up by means of rhetorical devices (see especially pp. 17 ff., pp. 126 ff.).

It is not, of course, to be denied that some of Chaucer's rhetorical devices are mere 'appendages'. Many of those in the *Man of Law's Tale*, for instance, are obviously so. This tale, indeed, appears to be an experiment in the application of rhetorical ornament to a simple story. If the experiment is not, on the whole, to the taste of the modern reader, yet it has to be granted that the best thing in the tale, the simile beginning 'Have ye nat seyn somtyme a pale face . . .' (ll. 645-51), is, equally with the apostrophes and *exempla*, a rhetorical ornament.

6. Matthieu de Vendôme taught grammar at Orléans. Évrard the German, whose *Laborintus* was written as a guide to the teacher of Grammar and Poetry, mentions Geoffroi de Vinsauf's *Nova Poetria* and Matthieu de Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria* in his list of authors suitable for boys to study (see *Laborintus*, ll. 665 ff., in *Les Arts poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, by E. Faral). Évrard himself probably taught at Bremen (see Faral, pp. 38-39).
7. 'Grammatica est scientia interpretandi poetas atque historicos et recte scribendi loquendique' (Rabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, iii. 18).
8. The practice in England at the time when Chaucer was educated can only be conjectured. John of Salisbury's famous description of the teaching of Bernard shows how authors were studied at Chartres in the twelfth century. He refers to composition in prose and verse (*Metalogicon*, ed. Webb, i. xxiv). Gervais of Melkley, who must have written his *Ars versificaria* in the early years of the thirteenth century, also speaks of composition (see résumé by Faral, op. cit., pp. 328 ff.; on Gervais of Melkley, see Faral, pp. 34 ff.) For an early fourteenth-century reference to the practice of composition in England, see A. F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 180-1. The Oxford statute to which Leach refers suggests that composition must have been practised by intending schoolmasters as well as by boys learning Grammar, and the statutes made for St. Alban's Grammar School (1309) also indicate that it was practised by older pupils (see Leach, p. 186).
9. The unconscious application of rhetorical rules is recognized by Gervais of Melkley, who (according to Faral, p. 328), speaks of 'un sens naturel, d'où vient que, même sans penser à la théorie, le génie des écrivains applique les règles d'instinct et fait spontanément des trouvailles heureuses'.
10. See *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, ed. E. Vinaver, i, pp. xlvi-xxviii. For Professor Vinaver's discussion of the *Suite du Merlin*, see his introduction to *Le Roman de Balain*, ed. M. D. Legge, especially pp. xii ff. Reference is made here to Professor Vinaver, because his statements appear most relevant to the present discussion; but it is not possible to write on the influence of rhetoric on medieval literature without being indebted to the work of H. Brinkmann (in *Zu Wesen und Form mittelalterlicher Dichtung*, 1928) and of E. R. Curtius (in *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*, 1948, and in many articles.)



11. I am assuming that Chaucer was trained in *grammatica* and *rhetorica* (or perhaps 'poetria') in his youth. In fact, of course, we know nothing about his education except what can be deduced from his works. His service in the household of the Countess of Ulster need not, I take it, preclude his having been so trained, either previous to it or during it (possibly by a *grammaticus* especially hired for him and other youths in her service). His earliest extant works (or what are generally taken to be such), the *A B C* and the *Book of the Duchess*, reveal the influence of rhetorical teaching; and his knowledge of the standard medieval school-reader, the *Liber Catonianus*, is some slight indication that he had received instruction in Grammar. For information about this book and Chaucer's knowledge of it, see R. A. Pratt, 'Chaucer's Claudian', *Speculum*, xxii (1947), *A Memoir of Karl Young*, pp. 45 ff. (privately printed, New Haven, 1946), and 'The Importance of Manuscripts for the study of Medieval Education as Revealed by the Learning of Chaucer', *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Bulletin No. 20 (1949). It may be worth recalling that a copy of the *Liber Catonianus* was left in 1358 by William Ravenstone, a former master, to the Almonry School of St. Paul's Cathedral, the school which, it is held, Chaucer is most likely to have attended (see E. Rickert, *Chaucer's World*, p. 123, and n. 51).
12. The importance of engaging the hearer's attention and goodwill at the beginning of a speech is stressed by Quintilian and the writer of *Ad Herennium*. See Quintilian on the *exordium* (principium), 'Causa principii nulla alia est, quam ut auditorem, quo sit nobis in ceteris partibus accommodator, praeparemus' (*Institutio Oratoria*, iv. i); see also *Ad Herennium* (ed. F. Marx, p. 4): 'Exordiorum duo sunt genera: principium, quod Graece prohemium appellatur, et insinuatio . . . Principium est, cum statim auditoris animum nobis idoneum reddimus ad audiendum. Id ita sumitur, ut attentos, ut dociles, ut benivolos auditores habere possimus.' While most of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century rhetoricians are interested in ways of beginning, they do not consider why an author should take special pains with this part of his work.
13. *Troilus and Criseyde*, i. 211 ff. The apostrophe and the reference to Troilus's ignorance of his fate are in Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato* (Part I, st. 25), but not the metaphor of Troilus climbing the stair, nor the *sententia* with which Chaucer's stanza ends. The following three stanzas (ll. 218-38) have no parallel in *Il Filostrato*.
14. See *Wife of Bath's Tale*, D 1109-1206 (ll. 1177-1206 provide a particularly good example of rhetorical presentation) and *Merchant's Tale*, E 2237 ff., especially Proserpyne's reply (ll. 2264-2304). The argument by which Pandarus persuades Troilus to tell him who it is he loves (*Troilus*, i. 624-714) is another example. Comparison of this passage with *Il Filostrato*, ii, sts. 10-13 shows that, while most of the main points of the argument were taken by Chaucer from the earlier poem, he added almost all the rhetorical amplification. The odd thing is that Pandarus's argument, for all its rhetorical devices, does not sound less 'natural' than Pandaro's, but rather more so. Boccaccio's passage is perhaps too straightforward to be quite convincing as the speech of one friend to another at a time when both are under the stress of emotion.
15. See Helen Gardner, *The Art of T. S. Eliot* (1949), pp. 51 ff. As Miss Gardner points out, however, the meaning of Mr. Eliot's repeated words

does not remain constant, as with Chaucer; 'it is deepened or expanded by each fresh use'. In aim and effect Mr. Eliot's use is rather nearer to the *Pearl* poet's practice of ringing the changes on the various meanings of some of his refrain words (*cortaysye*, *ryzt*, for instance), though close analysis would reveal some interesting differences between them.

16. *Book of the Duchess*, 221 ff.

17. There are also in the *Prioress's Tale* some slight traces of stanza linking by repetition, notably in ll. 1838-9, but see also ll. 1691-2, 1726-7, 1866-7.

A study of the various kinds of verbal repetition in Chaucer's works (both those which are recognized by the rhetoricians and those which are not), and of their effects, might give interesting results. Even when the practice is technically the same, the results are often different. For instance, the repetition noted in the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Prioress's Tale* makes its appeal to the emotions, but the repetition in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* of the words *gentillesse*, *gentil*, *gent(e)rye* (D 1109-76) and of the word *poverté* (1177-1206) helps to drive home the arguments, that is, its appeal is to the intellect. In the latter part of this argument Chaucer is using the rhetorical device of *repetitio* (the repetition of the first word of a clause), which he also frequently employs elsewhere, again with varying effects. Compare, for instance, the repetition in *Manciple's Tale* H 318 ff. with that in *Knight's Tale* A 2918 ff. or that of the words 'Thou seist' (seistow') in the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*. (It may incidentally be remarked that *Manciple's Tale*, 318 ff. exemplifies the difficulty of making clear-cut distinctions between some of the rhetoricians' terms. Naunin, op. cit., p. 45 calls the figure here used *repetitio*, while Plessow labels it *conduplicatio*. In fact, Geoffroi's definition of either term could cover it.)

18. Another slight verbal link between these two passages (compare l. 62 'welle of musik and melodye' and l. 129 'welle of grace') may or may not be intentional.

19. See *Merchant's Tale*, E 1986, *Knight's Tale*, A 1761, *Squire's Tale*, F 479. The line, as used of Canacee, comes after the *Merchant's Tale* in our modern editions; but uncertainty about the chronology of the tales and about their order (particularly the order of those in Groups E and F), combined with what can now be called the certainty that Chaucer never finally arranged them, leaves it an open question whether Chaucer wrote the *Merchant's Tale* before or after the *Squire's*, and how he would ultimately have placed them in relation to one another.

20. Some of Geoffroi de Vinsauf's own verses in *Nova Poetria*, especially those composed to illustrate *gradatio* (ll. 1145 ff.) and *conduplicatio* (ll. 1169-72), might have provided some suggestion for the kind of repetition found in the *Book of the Duchess*, however.

An exception to the statement that the rhetoricians do not indicate why repetition should be used is to be found in Geoffroi's definition of *conduplicatio*—'*Conduplicatio* est quando motu irae vel indignationis idem conduplicamus verbum' (*Summa de Coloribus Rhetoricis*, ed. Faral, p. 324). See also Geoffroi's remarks under *interpretatio* (Faral, p. 325).

21. In the story of Lear as told by Lazamon the phrases 'hauekes & hundes' and 'feowerti hired cnihtes' (or slight variations of them) provide a link between some important stages of the story (see *The Brut*, ed. F. Madden, ll. 3256-8, 3274-5, 3295-9, 3560-3).

Verbal repetition, though very common in the alliterative *Morte*

*Arthure*, is not generally used there as a linking device, at least not in the way Chaucer uses it. In ll. 3523-78, however, it does act as a link between Sir Cradok's news of Modred's treachery and Arthur's recital of the news to his council and it is effective as suggesting Arthur's state of mind, his stunned horror at what he has been told.

In *Purity*, the text which forms the theme of the whole poem, 'Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt', is paraphrased in ll. 27-28, and immediately after (ll. 29-30) the converse is stated,

'As so saytz, to þat syȝt seche schal he never  
þat any unclannesse hatz on, auwhere abowte.'

The second part of the text (Vulgate 'Deum videbunt') is echoed in varying forms throughout the poem, often in the transitional passages from one part of the matter to another, but also elsewhere. At the end of the parable of the man without a wedding garment, comes the phrase 'Penne may þou se þy Savior' (l. 176); the words 'Ne never see hym with syȝt' (l. 192) come at the end of section II, and 'þe syȝte of þe Soverayn' just after the story of the Flood (l. 552), and so on (see ll. 576, 595, 1055, 1112). The words 'clannesse', 'clene', and their opposites 'unclannesse', 'fylþe,' representing the first part of the text, also echo through the poem, and the two parts are once more combined at the end,

'Ande clannes is his comfort, and coyntyse he lovyes,  
And þose þat seme arn and swete schyn se his face' (1809-10).

22. It is for the same reason that the death of Alcyone is dismissed so abruptly (see *Book of the Duchess*, 212-17).

23. I am not suggesting that Geoffroi de Vinsauf himself had anything like the organization of the *Book of the Duchess* in mind when he used these words. In part of what he says about *interpretatio* in the *Nova Poetria* (ed. Faral, 220-5) he is almost certainly thinking only of verbal variation (cf. 'Sub verbis aliis praesumpta resume; reponere Pluribus in clausis unum'); and this seems to be all that is in his mind in the *Documentum de arte versificandi* (Faral, p. 277). Even so, a creative mind, occupied with problems of organization, might have found in his words a hint for variation on a larger scale.

The parallelism between the story of Ceys and Alcyone and the theme of the poet's dream is pointed out by W. Clemen in *Der Junge Chaucer* (1938), pp. 39 ff., but his interpretation of it differs from mine.

24. Chaucer twice draws attention to this connecting link, see ll. 96 ff., 106-8.

25. The significance of these lines is made clearer by reference to their source in Boethius's *Consolation*. They echo a speech made by Philosophy in the course of her discussion of true and false 'blisfulnesse' (see *Boece*, iii, pr. 3).

On the similarity between *Parlement* 50-70 and *Troilus* v. 1807-20, and the implied contrast in the *Parlement* between heavenly and earthly bliss, see B. H. Bronson, *In Appreciation of Chaucer's Parlement of Foules* (University of California Publications in English, iii, 1935).

26. See *Ars versificatoria*, ed. Faral, pp. 129-32. Faral (p. 77) remarks that Matthieu treats these two portraits 'en manière de pendants antithétiques' and he notes other medieval examples of 'opposed' descriptions. Nearly related to these is the passage in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ll. 943 ff., which describes Morgan le Fay and the lady of the castle antithetically.

What Chaucer does in the *Parlement* is obviously much further removed from Matthieu.

It is perhaps worth noting that Chaucer's presentation of the two visions has a good deal in common with the presentation of ideas in the rhetorical figure of thought known as *contentio*, of which Geoffroi de Vinsauf writes 'quando res comparo, secum Contendunt positae rationes' (*Nova Poetria*, 1253-4). Chaucer uses *contentio* (both the figure of thought and the figure of words) rather frequently in the *Parlement*, and it seems possible that these figures, and the lay-out of the poem, reflect his state of mind at the time the poem was written.

27. See the introduction to *Le Roman de Balain*, especially pp. xxv ff.  
 28. See W. Frost, 'An Interpretation of Chaucer's Knight's Tale', *R.E.S.* xxv (1949). That I am indebted to this article for some fundamental ideas about the *Knight's Tale* is easily apparent; but I cannot accept Mr. Frost's view's completely. He appears to me to lay more stress on the *motif* of friendship than Chaucer does, and I do not agree that the 'conflict between love and comradeship in the hearts of the two knights is the emotional focus of the story'. As I understand the story, the 'emotional focus' is their rivalry in love. The fact that they are kinsmen and sworn brothers adds poignancy to the situation, and their final reconciliation helps one to acquiesce in the solution; but these things appear to me to be subordinate in interest to the theme of rivalry in love.

Some of the expressions which Mr. Frost uses of the tale seem unfortunate, as when he writes of its 'theological' interest ('the theological interest attaching to the method by which a just providence fully stabilizes a disintegrating human situation', p. 292) and of its teaching 'a deep acceptance of Christian faith' (p. 302). Chaucer develops the wider issues of the story in the light of Boethian thought, as expounded in the *Consolation of Philosophy*, and its solution is in line with that thought. The general terms used by Mr. Frost, while not actually misleading, do not adequately convey the conceptions that lie behind the tale. As for the term 'tragic' (see pp. 299-301), I doubt whether the word, in any sense in which it is used in serious criticism today, or was understood in the Middle Ages, is properly applicable to this tale.

While it is not to be denied that the tale is sufficiently well suited to the Knight to arouse no questions in the reader's mind, it cannot safely be maintained that it is 'an important function' of the tale 'to present the mind and heart' of the Knight; for what little evidence we have suggests that it was written, substantially as it is, before Chaucer began the *Canterbury Tales*.

It may be noted that the 'symmetry' of the *Knight's Tale* is again emphasized in C. Muscatine's article, 'Form, Texture, and Meaning in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale"', *P.M.L.A.* lxx (1950), which I did not see until after the delivery of this lecture.

29. See *Teseida*, iii, sts. 18-19, 28-31, iv, sts. 56-58, 61, v, sts. 77 ff. There is nothing in the *Knight's Tale* to correspond to any of these passages.  
 30. Contrast *Teseida*, iii, st. 13.  
 31. See *Chaucer and the Rhetoricians*, p. 20.  
 32. Actually, although Chaucer writes, 'Thise riotoures thre of which I telle' (C 661), he has not previously mentioned them. This has led some critics to suspect that the tale of the three rioters was not originally connected

with the preceding 'homily on the sins of the tavern' (see Carleton Brown *The Pardoner's Tale*, 1935, for an exposition of this view). If Carleton Brown is right, and it is not a mere oversight that the three rioters are not mentioned in the opening lines of the *Tale*, one can only marvel at the skill with which two originally distinct elements have been amalgamated and inter-related.

33. See C 895-903, and 916-18.

34. See *Parson's Tale*, *De Avaricia* (Robinson's ed., p. 301) 'Now comth hasardrie with his apurtenaunces, as tables and rafles, of which comth deceite, false othes, chidynges and alle ravynes, blasphemynge and reneiynge of God, and hate of his neighbores, wast of goodes, mys-spendynge of tyme, and somtyme manslaughtre.' Compare with this passage, *Pardoner's Tale*, C 591-4. The tale of the three rioters gathers up most of the sins mentioned in the passage in the *Parson's Tale*.

35. I am indebted to Miss M. M. Lascelles for some suggestions about Chaucer's handling of the *Pardoner's Tale*, and the *Nun's Priest's Tale*, but she is not responsible for any statement made here or any opinion expressed.

36. On these echoes, see Marie P. Hamilton, 'Notes on Chaucer and the Rhetoricians', *P.M.L.A.* xlvii (1932), K. Young, 'Chaucer and Geoffrey de Vinsauf', *Modern Philology*, xli (1944) and a brief note by R. A. Pratt, 'The Classical Lamentations in the "Nun's Priest's Tale"', *M.L.N.* lxiv (1949).

37. On the doctrine of the three styles see Faral, pp. 86 ff., and, for a more recent discussion, De Bruyne, *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, ii. 41 ff.

## THE IMPERIAL 'VOTA'

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THE normal form of Roman prayer was the 'votum' or vow<sup>1</sup>—the petition for a specific favour, accompanied by the promise to pay a specific due, if and when the favour was granted. 'Do ut des' was the thought underlying. There were two critical moments in each vow—the moment when the vow was formulated ('susceptum', 'nuncupatum') and the moment when it was paid ('solutum'). The only sacrifice accompanying the 'nuncupatio' would be the offering of incense or libation at an altar; at the 'solutio' the promised victim would be brought to the altar for sacrifice. On both occasions the proper formula would be recited to the accompaniment, it might be, of lyre or pipe.

Apart from the endless mass of private vows there were very many vows of an official character ('vota publica')—vows for the Emperor, for his salvation or safe return, vows for marriages, births, or adoptions in the imperial house, vows for the State—the senate and people of Rome. Each year had its special day reserved for the annual vows (3 January—'votis'). At the end of every ten years (later, every five) of a reign the vows taken at accession would be paid and carried forward again with special emphasis and display. The provinces, of course, shared in the vows as a way of demonstrating loyalty and paying homage (n. 12, p. 183 below).

The imperial and public vows figure largely on the Roman Imperial Coinage and, apart from their intrinsic interest, have considerable importance for dating. I have, therefore, taken this opportunity, so generously placed in my way by the British Academy, to collect and review the coin material and gather about it the scattered references to the vows in literature. I have long been hoping that a scholar with special qualifications would appear to undertake the task; as he has not appeared, I have had to attempt it myself.

Discussion of general problems that arise will best be kept till the end, but a few preliminary observations may help to clear the ground:

1. After the early Empire—in which few vows are recorded, and those almost all of special character—the predominant

form is the 'vota decennialia'; the 'vota quinquennialia' only became important in the fourth century.

2. Vows for special occasions are sometimes precisely defined, sometimes brought under the general description of 'vota publica'; but 'vota publica' can, it appears, also cover the periodic vows.
3. The date from which an Emperor reckoned his reign would normally be the day on which he was first acclaimed as 'imperator' or received confirmation of that title from the senate.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that the reckoning always ran 'a die in diem', overlapping the calendar year—not in one broken year from accession to 31 December, and then complete calendar years reckoned from 3 January. In practice we find that the celebrations of the vows began when the last completing year was entered upon. 'Vota decennialia' would begin to be paid from the beginning of the tenth year, 'vota vicennialia' from the beginning of the twentieth, and so on.
4. Reference to the vows in coin-types, implied but not explicit, can often be suspected, seldom proved. Attention will be called in the notes to some cases where this suspicion is strong.

For the time I must be content to examine the material down to Diocletian: the sequel—to the end of the Western Empire—should follow in due course.

AUGUSTUS, 27 B.C.—A.D. 14. 'vota x', 18–17 B.C.; 'vota xx', 8–7 B.C.; 'vota xxx', A.D. 2–3; 'vota xxxx', A.D. 12–13.<sup>3</sup>

(Here and until further notice the vows thus quoted are all 'soluta'.)

1. 19 B.C. 'vota soluta pro reditu Augusti' to Fortuna Redux.<sup>4</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Busts of the two Fortunae, jugate, r. FORTVNAE ANTIAT Q RVSTIVS.

*Rev.* Altar. FOR RE CAESARI AVGVSTO EX S C.

Rome. Denarius. *B.M.C. Empire*, i, p. 2, no. 4, Pl. 1. 2.

(b) *Obv.* Busts of the two Fortunae, *vis-à-vis*. FORTVNAE Q RVSTIVS.

*Rev.* Victory hovering l., placing r. hand on shield, inscribed S C set on low column. CAESARI AVGVSTO.

Rome. Aureus. *B.M.C.* i, p. 1, no. 1, Pl. 1. 1.

2. 16 B.C. 'vota suscepta pro salute et reditu Augusti' to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.<sup>5</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Head of Augustus, laureate, r. CAESAR AVGVSTVS TR POT.

- Rev.* Mars standing l., on low pedestal, holding spear and parazonium. S P Q R V PR RE CAES L MESCINIVS RVFVS.
- (b) *Obv.* As on (a).  
*Rev.* As on (a) but S P Q R V P S PR S ET RED AVG L MESCINIVS RVFVS III VIR.  
 Denarii. *B.M.C.* i, pp. 16, 17, nos. 87, 88, Pl. 3. 10, 11.
- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Augustus on shield. S C OB R P CVM SALVT IMP CAESAR AVGVS CONS.  
*Rev.* As on (a) but S P Q R V P S PR S ET RED AVG L MESCINIVS RVFVS III VIR.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* i, p. 17, no. 90, Pl. 3. 13.
- (d) *Obv.* I O M S P Q R V S PR S IMP CAE QVOD PER EV R P IN AMP ATQ TRAN S E in seven lines in oak-wreath.  
*Rev.* Low column inscribed IMP CAES AVGV COMM CONS S C L MESCINIVS RVFVS III VIR.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* i, p. 18, no. 92, Pl. 3. 14.  
 (a) to (d) are all of Rome.
- (e) *Obv.* Head of Augustus bare, r.  
*Rev.* IOVI VOT SVSC PRO SAL CAES AVG S P Q R in oak-wreath.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* i, p. 74, no. 430, Pl. 10. 5.
- (f) *Obv.* As on (e) but S P Q R CAESARI AVGVSTO.  
*Rev.* Mars standing l., holding vexillum and parazonium. VOT P SVSC PRO SAL ET RED I O M SACR.  
 Aureus. *B.M.C.* i, p. 76, no. 437, Pl. 10. 10.  
 (e) and (f) are of a mint probably Spanish ('Colonia Patricia').

TIBERIUS, A.D. 14-37. 'vota x', A.D. 23-24; 'vota xx', A.D. 33-34.<sup>6</sup>

The gold and silver are mainly undated, but for a continuous series of gold quinarii. The *Aes* coinage was regulated by 'senatus-consulta', dated TR P XVII (A.D. 15-16), TR P XXIII (A.D. 22-23), and TR P XXXVI-XXXVIII (A.D. 34-35, 35-36, 36-37). There seems to be no question of the vows.

CALIGULA, A.D. 37-41. No vows recorded.<sup>7</sup>

CLAUDIUS, A.D. 41-54. 'vota x', A.D. 50-51.<sup>8</sup>

There was perhaps rather unusually large production of gold and silver in A.D. 50-51.

NERO, A.D. 54-68. 'vota x', A.D. 63-64.<sup>9</sup>

The resumption of *Aes* coinage at Rome and the change from Nero's first style in gold and silver to his 'reformed' both occur in A.D. 64 (or late 63). A connexion with Nero's 'vota x' seems probable: cp. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues*, 1950, pp. 80 ff.



GALBA, A.D. 68-69.

OTHO and VITELLIUS, A.D. 69. } No vows recorded.

VESPASIAN,<sup>10</sup> A.D. 69-79. 'vota x', A.D. 78-79. No vows recorded.

TITUS, A.D. 79-81. No vows recorded.

DOMITIAN,<sup>11</sup> A.D. 81-96. 'vota x', A.D. 90-91. No vows recorded.

NERVA, A.D. 96-98. No vows recorded.

TRAJAN, A.D. 98-117. 'vota x', A.D. 105-6; 'vota xx', A.D. 115-16<sup>12</sup>  
(for the explanation of this abnormal count, see note).

3. A.D. 115-16. 'vota soluta decennalia II suscepta decennalia III'  
(*'tricennalia'*).

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Trajan, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAES  
NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC.

*Rev.* Genius of senate standing r., and Genius of Roman  
people standing l., sacrificing over altar. P M TR P COS  
VI P P S P Q R VOTA SVSCEPTA.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 115, no. 587, Pl. 19. 18.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but IMP CAES NER TRAIAN OPTIM AVG GER  
DAC PARTHICO.

*Rev.* As on (a).

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 120, no. 612, Pl. 20. 9.

Both of Rome.

HADRIAN, A.D. 117-38. 'vota x', A.D. 126-7; 'vota xx', A.D. 136-7.

4. A.D. 118-19. 'vota publica' (for their character, see note).<sup>13</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Hadrian, laureate, r., with drapery on l. shoulder.  
IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* Pietas standing r., raising both hands. P M TR P COS II  
VOT PVB.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 250, no. 88, Pl. 48. 12.

(b) As on (a) but COS DES III on reverse.

(c) As on (a) but COS III on reverse.

Denarii. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 252, no. 95, Pl. 48. 15; p. 280,  
no. 324, Pl. 52. 15.

5. A.D. 121. 'vota suscepta pro reditu Augusti'.<sup>14</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Hadrian, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP  
CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* Genius of senate and Genius of Roman people standing l.,  
sacrificing over altar. P M TR P COS III VS PRO RED

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 280, no. 323, Pl. 52. 14.

6. A.D. 134-5. 'vota publica' ('vota soluta pro reditu Augusti').<sup>15</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Head of Hadrian laureate, r. HADRIANVS AVG COS III PP.

*Rev.* Hadrian standing l., sacrificing over tripod: *victimarius*, bull, attendant, musician. VOTA PVBLICA.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 337, no. 776, Pl. 62. 4.

7. A.D. 136-7. 'vota publica' ('vota suscepta') (for the occasion, see note).<sup>16</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Hadrian, draped, head bare, r. HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P.

*Rev.* Genius of senate and Genius of Roman people standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOT PVB.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 337, no. 775, Pl. 62. 3.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but head bare, r.

*Rev.* Hadrian standing l., sacrificing over tripod. VOTA PVBLICA.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 337, no. 777, Pl. 62. 5.

(c) *Obv.* As on (a) but bust draped, head bare, l.

*Rev.* VOTA SVSCEPTA in oak-wreath.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iii, p. 338, no. 782, Pl. 62. 7.

All of Rome.

ANTONINUS PIUS, A.D. 138-61. 'vota x', A.D. 147-8; 'vota xx', A.D. 157-8.<sup>17</sup>

8. A.D. 145. Vows for the marriage of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II.<sup>18</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Head of Marcus Aurelius, bare, r. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII F COS II.

*Rev.* Marcus and Faustina II standing l. and r., clasping r. hands; behind them, Concordia standing. VOTA PVBLICA.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 87, no. 611, Pl. 13. 4.

(b) *Obv.* Bust of Diva Faustina I, draped, r. DIVA AVG FAVSTINA.

*Rev.* As on (a).

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 48, no. 326, Pl. 8. 5.

9. A.D. 147-8, 148-9. 'vota decennalia' ('vota soluta dec. suscepta dec. II').<sup>19</sup>

A.D. 147-8.

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Antoninus, laureate, with aegis, r. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XI.

*Rev.* PRIMI DECENNALES COS IIII in oak-wreath.<sup>20</sup>

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 91, no. 633, Pl. 13. 16.

(The plated denarius, with this rev., but obv. TR P X, is probably an ancient forgery; *B.M.C.* iv, p. 87, near foot, C. 667 n.)

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but light drapery.

*Rev.* Antoninus standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA COS IIII S C.

Sestertius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 294, no. 1812, Pl. 44. 6.

A.D. 148-9.

(c) *Obv.* Head of Antoninus, laureate, r. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS  
P P TR P XII.

*Rev.* As on (b).

Sestertius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 298, no. 1826, Pl. 44. 12.

Variant of rev. VOTO, no. 1826 A.

(The rev. PRIMI DECEN COS IIII in oak-wreath is  
dubiously recorded with TR P XII: *B.M.C.* iv, p. 97,  
after no. 677, C. 672.)

10. A.D. 157-8 (continued in A.D. 158-9, 159-60). 'vota soluta decennialia II suscepta decennialia III', 'vota vicennialia'.<sup>21</sup>

A.D. 157-8.

(a) *Obv.* Head of Antoninus, laureate, r. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS  
P P TR P XXI.

*Rev.* Antoninus standing l., sacrificing over tripod: bull.  
VOTA SOL DECENN II COS IIII.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 135, n. ‡.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* As on (a) but no bull. VOTA SVSCEPTA DEC III COS IIII.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 135, n. §.

A.D. 158-9.

(c) *Obv.* As on (a) but TR P XXII.

*Rev.* As on (a) but VOTA SOL DEC II COS IIII

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 141, no. 946, Pl. 20. 8.

(d) *Obv.* As on (a) but TR P XXII and draped, r.

*Rev.* As on (b).

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 142, no. 955, Pl. 20. 12.

(e) *Obv.* As on (a) but TR P XXII.

*Rev.* As on (a) but VOTA SVSCEPTA VICENNIALIA.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 142, n. †.

A.D. 159-60.

(f) *Obv.* As on (a) but TR P XXIII.

*Rev.* As on (b) but VOTA SVSCEP DEC III COS IIII.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 148, n. \*.

UNDATED.

(g) *Obv.* Head of Antoninus, laureate, r. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P.

*Rev.* As on (a) but VOTA SOL DECENNAL II COS IIII.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 83, no. 578, Pl. 12. 13.

(h) *Obv.* As on (g).

*Rev.* As on (b) but VOTA SVSCEPTA DEC III COS IIII.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 83, no. 585, Pl. 12. 14.

(i) *Obv.* Head of Antoninus, radiate, r. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS  
P P IMP II.

*Rev.* As on (b) but VOTA VICENNIALIA COS IIII S C.

Dupondius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 282, no. 1747.

All of Rome.

(For other possible occasions of 'vota', see note.)<sup>22</sup>

MARCUS AURELIUS, A.D. 161–80. 'vota x', A.D. 170–1; 'vota xx', A.D. 180–1.

11. A.D. 165–6, 166–7. 'vota decennalia suscepta' (see note).<sup>23</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Marcus, radiate, r. M AVREL ANTONINVS AVG.  
*Rev.* Marcus standing l., sacrificing over tripod. VOTA DEC  
 ANN SVSC TR P XX IMP IIII COS III S C.

Dupondius. As. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 593, n. †.

A.D. 166–7.

- (b) *Obv.* Head of Marcus, laureate, r. M ANTONINVS AVG ARM  
 PARTH MAX.  
*Rev.* As on (a) but VOTA TR P XXI IMP IIII COS III S C.  
 As. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 599, no. 1323.

12. A.D. 169. 'vota publica' for marriage of Lucilla to Pompeianus.<sup>24</sup>

- Obv.* Bust of Lucilla, draped, r. LVCILLA AVG ANTONINI  
 AVG F.  
*Rev.* VOTA PVBLICA in laurel-wreath.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 429, no. 327, Pl. 58. 19.

13. A.D. 170–1. 'vota soluta decennalia suscepta decennalia II.'<sup>25</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Marcus, laureate, r. IMP M ANTONINVS AVG  
 TR P XXV.  
*Rev.* Marcus standing l., sacrificing over tripod: bull. VOTA  
 SOL DECENN COS III.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 463, no. 551, Pl. 64. 2.

- (b) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* As on (a) but no bull. VOTA SVSCEP DECENN II COS III.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 464, no. 553, Pl. 64. 3.

- (c) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* PRIMI DECENNALES COS III in oak-wreath.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 463, no. 549, Pl. 64. 1.

14. A.D. 176–7, 177–8. 'vota publica' (for the occasion, see note).<sup>26</sup>

A.D. 176–7.

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Marcus, laureate, r. M ANTONINVS AVG GERM  
 SARM TR P XXXI.

*Rev.* Marcus standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA PVBLICA  
 IMP VIII COS III PP S C.

Sestertius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 665, no. 1639, Pl. 88. 5.

- (b) *Obv.* Head of Commodus, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r.  
 L AVREL COMMODVS AVG GERM SARM.

*Rev.* Commodus standing l., sacrificing over tripod. VOTA  
 PVBLICA TR P II IMP II COS PP S C.

Sestertius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 672, no. 1673, Pl. 89. 4.

A.D. 177–8.

- (c) *Obv.* As on (a) but M ANTONINVS AVG TR P XXXII.

*Rev.* As on (a).

As. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 673, n. §.

- (d) *Obv.* As on (b) but laureate, cuirassed, r. L AVREL COMMODVS AVG TR P III.

*Rev.* As on (b) but *victimarius* and bull: VOTA PVBLICA IMP II COS PP S C.

Sestertius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 676, no. 1689, Pl. 89. 11.

- (e) *Obv.* As on (d).

*Rev.* As on (b) but VOTA PVBLICA TR P III IMP II COS P P S C.

As. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 677, n. \*.

All of Rome.

LUCIUS VERUS, A.D. 161–9. No vows. Lucius does not share in the ‘vota decennalia suscepta’ of A.D. 165–6.

COMMODUS, A.D. 180–92. ‘Vota x’, A.D. 189–90 (if Commodus reckoned his vows from his first IMP in A.D. 177, ‘vota x’ would fall in A.D. 186–7).

15. A.D. 181. ‘vota decennalia suscepta.’<sup>27</sup>

*Obv.* Head of Commodus, radiate, r. M COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG.

*Rev.* Commodus standing l., sacrificing over tripod. VOTA DEC ANN SVSC TR P VI IMP IIII COS III P P S C.

Dupondius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 774, no. 466.

16. A.D. 183–4, 184–5, 185–6. ‘vota suscepta decennalia.’<sup>28</sup>

A.D. 183–4.

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Commodus, laureate, r. M COMMODVS ANTON AVG PIVS.

*Rev.* As in 15. VOT SVSC DEC P M TR P VIIII IMP VII COS IIII P P.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 715, no. 150, Pl. 94. 20.

A.D. 184–5.

- (b) *Obv.* Bust of Commodus, laureate, draped, r. COMM ANT AVG P BRIT.

*Rev.* As in 15, but VOT SVSC DEC P M TR P X IMP VII COS IIII P P.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 719, no. 169, Pl. 95. 9.

- (c) *Obv.* Head of Commodus, laureate, r. M COMM ANTON AVG PIVS FEL.

*Rev.* PRIMI DECENN P M TR P X IMP VII COS IIII P P S C in wreath.

As. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 801, no. 565, Pl. 107. 11.

- (d) *Obv.* As on (c), but M COMM ANT AVG P BRIT FEL.

*Rev.* Victory standing r., inscribing VO DE on shield, set on trunk. SAEC FEL P M TR P X IMP VII COS IIII P P.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 719, no. 167, Pl. 95. 7.

A.D. 185-6.

(e) *Obv.* As on (d) but M COMM ANT P FEL AVG BRIT.

*Rev.* As on (d) but TR P XI.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 722, no. 181, Pl. 95. 14.

17. A.D. 185-6, 186-7, 187-8. 'vota soluta decennalia.'<sup>29</sup>

A.D. 185-6.

(a) *Obv.* Head of Commodus, laureate, r. M COMM ANT P FEL AVG BRIT.

*Rev.* Commodus standing l., sacrificing over tripod: Bull. VOT SOL DEC P M TR P XI IMP VIII COS V P P.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 726, no. 206.

A.D. 186-7.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* As on (a) but TR P XII.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 731, no. 230, Pl. 96. 13.

A.D. 187-8.

(c) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* As no (a) but no bull (*sic!*). VOTA SOL DECEN P M TR P XIII IMP VIII COS V P P S C.

As. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 818, n. ‡.

18. A.D. 190-1. 'vota vicennalia.'<sup>30</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Head of Commodus, laureate, r. M COMM ANT P FEL AVG BRIT P P.

*Rev.* VOTIS XX COS VI in laurel-wreath.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 743, n. \*.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but FELIX.

*Rev.* VOT XX P M TR P XV IMP VIII COS VI S C in wreath.

Sestertius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 829, no. 664, Pl. 109. 11.

19. A.D. 191. 'vota soluta pro salute populi Romani.'<sup>31</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Head of Commodus, laureate, r. L AEL AVREL COMM AVG P FEL.

*Rev.* Commodus standing l., sacrificing over tripod: bull. VOTA SOLV PRO SAL P R.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 756, no. 363, Pl. 100. 11.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* As on (a) but *victimarius*, attendants, and flute-player. VOTA SOLV PRO SAL P R COS VI P P S C.

Sestertius. *B.M.C.* iv, p. 835, no. 688, Pl. 110. 1.

All of Rome.

#### PERTINAX.

20. A.D. 193. 'vota decennalia suscepta.'<sup>32</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Head of Pertinax, laureate, r. IMP CAES P HELV PERTIN AVG.

*Rev.* Pertinax standing l., sacrificing over tripod. VOT DECEN  
TR P COS II.

Rome. Aureus. *B.M.C.* v, p. 4, no. 22, Pl. 1. 19.

DIDIUS JULIANUS, A.D. 193. No vows recorded.

PESCENNIUS NIGER, A.D. 193-4 (or 5). No vows recorded.

CLODIUS ALBINUS, A.D. 193-5 (Caesar); A.D. 195-7 (Augustus). No vows recorded.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, and GETA.

Septimius, A.D. 193-211. 'vota x', A.D. 202-3.

Caracalla, A.D. 198-217. 'vota x', A.D. 207-8; 'vota xx', A.D. 217-18.  
(Caesar, A.D. 196.)

Geta, A.D. 209-12.

(Caesar, A.D. 198.)

21. A.D. 196-7. 'vota publica' (for occasion, see note).<sup>33</sup>

*Obv.* Head of Septimius, laureate, r. L SEPT SEV PERT AVG  
IMP VIII.

*Rev.* Septimius standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA  
PVBLICA.

Rome. Aureus. *B.M.C.* v, p. 49, no. 177, Pl. 9. 19.

22. A.D. 198. 'vota publica', 'vota decennalia'.<sup>34</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Septimius, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. L SEPT  
SEV AVG IMP XI PART MAX.

*Rev.* As in 21.

Rome (?). Aureus. *B.M.C.* v, p. 179, n. \*.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but head, laureate, r.

*Rev.* As on (a) but VOTIS DECENNALIBVS.

Laodicea. Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 289, no. 680,  
Pl. 44. 18.

(c) *Obv.* As on (b).

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in oak-wreath.

Laodicea. Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 289, no. 681,  
Pl. 44. 19.

23. A.D. 202-3. 'vota soluta decennalia suscepta vicennalia' of Septi-  
mius, 'vota suscepta decennalia' of Caracalla.<sup>35</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Head of Septimius, laureate, r. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.

*Rev.* Three figures sacrificing over tripod: bull. VOTA SOLVT  
DEC COS III.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 230, no. 37 (? rightly reported).

(b) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* Septimius standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA  
SVSCEPTA XX.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 224, no. 375, Pl. 37. 2.

- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Caracalla, laureate, draped, r. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.  
*Rev.* Caracalla standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA SVSCEPTA XX.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 212, no. 302 n.
- (d) *Obv.* As on (c).  
*Rev.* As on (c) but VOT SVSC DEC PON TR P V COS.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 234, no. 397, Pl. 37. 16.
- (e) *Obv.* As on (c).  
*Rev.* As on (c) but VOTA SVSCEPTA X.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 212, no. 302, Pl. 34. 13.
- (f) *Obv.* Head of Septimius, laureate, r. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.  
*Rev.* Septimius standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOT SVSC DEC P M TR P X COS III P P.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 232, no. 388, Pl. 37. 10.  
 (VOTA in text is a slip.)  
 All of Rome.
24. A.D. 202–3. 'vota publica' of Geta.<sup>36</sup>
- (a) *Obv.* Bust of Geta, cuirassed, head bare, r. P SEPT GETA CAES PONT.  
*Rev.* Geta standing l., sacrificing over altar: *victimarius*, bull, &c. VOTA PVBLICA.  
 Aureus. *B.M.C.* v, p. 200, no. 249, Pl. 33. 1.
- (b) *Obv.* Bust of Geta, draped, head bare, r. GETA CAES PONTIF.  
*Rev.* As on (a) but no *victimarius*, bull, &c.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 200, no. 251, Pl. 33. 3.
- (c) *Obv.* As on (b) but also draped. GETA CAES PONT COS.  
*Rev.* As on (b).  
 Aureus. *B.M.C.* v, p. 242, no. 441, Pl. 38. 18.
25. A.D. 206–7 (?). 'vota publica' (for occasion, see note).<sup>37</sup>
- (a) *Obv.* Head of Septimius, laureate, r. SEVERVS PIVS AVG.  
*Rev.* Septimius standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA PVBLICA  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 229, no. 36 (regular?).
- (b) *Obv.* Head of Caracalla, laureate, r. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.  
*Rev.* Caracalla standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA PVBLICA.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 260, no. 524 n (regular?).
- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Geta, draped, head bare, r. P SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES.  
*Rev.* Geta standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA PVBLICA.  
 Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 247, no. 466, Pl. 39. 13.  
 All of Rome.
26. A.D. 208. 'vota soluta decennalia suscepta vicennalia' of Caracalla (for date, see note).<sup>38</sup>



- (a) *Obv.* Head of Caracalla, laureate, r. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.  
*Rev.* Caracalla standing l., sacrificing over tripod: *victimarius*, bull, &c. VOTA SOLVTA DEC COS III.

Rome. Aureus. *B.M.C.* v, p. 272, no. 576, Pl. 42. 11.

- (b) *Obv.* As on (a) but draped.  
*Rev.* As on (a). VOT SOL DEC PONTIF TR P XI COS III S C.

Rome. As. *B.M.C.* v, p. 353, n. ‡.

- (c) *Obv.* As on (a).  
*Rev.* As on (a) but no bull. VOTA SVSCEPTA XX.

Rome. Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 260, no. 524, Pl. 41. 8.

27. A.D. 211. 'vota publica' (for occasion, see note).<sup>39</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Caracalla, laureate, r. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT.

*Rev.* Caracalla standing l., sacrificing over altar: bull. VOTA PVBLICA S C.

Rome. As. *B.M.C.* v, p. 413, n. †.

- (b) *Obv.* Bust of Geta, laureate, with light drapery, r. P SEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS AVG BRIT.

*Rev.* Geta standing l., sacrificing over altar: bull. VOTA PVBLICA S C.

Rome. Sestertius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 407, no. 235, Pl. 60. 5.

28. A.D. 211. 'vota suscepta x' of Geta.<sup>40</sup>

*Obv.* Head of Geta, laureate, r. P SEPT GETA PIVS AVG BRIT.

*Rev.* Geta standing l., sacrificing over altar. VOTA SVSCEPTA X.

Rome. Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 370 (d), regular (?).

29. A.D. 217. 'vota soluta xx' of Caracalla.<sup>41</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Caracalla, laureate, r. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM.

*Rev.* Victory seated r., holding shield inscribed VO XX: trophy. P M TR P XX COS IIII P P.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 465, n. \*.

- (b) *Obv.* As on (a) but draped, cuirassed.

*Rev.* As on (a) but VOT XX: trophy and two captives. P M TR P XX COS IIII P P VIC PART.

Aureus. *B.M.C.* v, p. 465, no. 197, Pl. 73. 4.

- (c) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* As on (a) but no trophy: helmet, quiver, and trumpet. VICT PARTHICA.

Denarius. *B.M.C.* v, p. 447, no. 89 and n., Pl. 69. 16.  
 All of Rome.

MACRINUS, A.D. 217-18.

30. A.D. 217. 'vota publica' (for occasion, see note).<sup>42</sup>

- (a) *Rev.* Jupiter standing l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre: to l., Macrinus.

- (b) *Rev.* Felicitas standing l., holding short caduceus and sceptre.
- (c) *Rev.* Fides standing l., holding standard in each hand: standard l. and r.
- (d) *Rev.* Salus seated l., holding sceptre and feeding snake coiled round altar.
- (e) *Rev.* Securitas seated l., holding sceptre and propping head on l. hand: altar.

The rev. legend in each case is VOTA PVBL P M TR P.

- (*Obv.* Bust of Macrinus, laureate, draped, r. IMP C M OPEL SEV MACRINVS AVG.)

Rome. Denarii. *B.M.C.* v, pp. 494 f., nos. 1-5, Pl. 78. 1-5.

The appropriate descriptive legends of reverses are given in the undated series: (a) IOVI CONSERVATORI, (b) FELICITAS TEMPORVM, (c) FIDES MILITVM, (d) SALVS PVBLICA, (e) SECVRITAS TEMPORVM (*B.M.C.* v, pp. 496 ff. nos. 7 f). Of these, FIDES MIL is recorded with the date. P M TR P, SALVS PVBL with P M TR P S C. (*B.M.C.* v, p. 494, n. †; p. 512, no. 97, Pl. 81. 6).

#### ELAGABALUS, A.D. 218-22.<sup>43</sup>

- 31. A.D. 218 (?). 'vota publica' (for occasion, see note).

- (a) *Obv.* Bust of Elagabalus, laureate, draped, r. ANTONINVS PIVS FEL AVG.

*Rev.* Elagabalus standing l., sacrificing over tripod. VOTA PVBLICA.

- (b) *Obv.* As on (a) but IMP ANTONINVS AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a).

East. Denarii. *B.M.C.* v, p. 576, no. 292, Pl. 91. 12; p. 581, no. 315, Pl. 92. 10.

#### SEVERUS ALEXANDER, A.D. 222-35. 'vota x', A.D. 230.<sup>44</sup>

- 32. A.D. 230. 'vota soluta x suscepta xx.'

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Alexander, laureate, r. IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG.

*Rev.* Victory standing r., inscribing VOT X on shield, set on palm. VICTORIA AVGVSTI.

Aureus. *M.S.* iv. 2, p. 87, no. 217.

- (b) *Obv.* As on (a) but draped.

*Rev.* As on (a), but legend P M TR P VIII COS III P P S C.

Sestertius. *M.S.* iv. 2, p. 110, no. 505.

- (c) *Obv.* As on (b).

*Rev.* Alexander seated l., holding Victory and sceptre, crowned by Victory; in front, Virtus: on l., shield, inscribed VOT X, set on low column. P M TR P VIII COS III P P S C.

As. *M.S.* iv. 2, p. 111, no. 510.

(d) *Obv.* Busts of Alexander, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r., and Julia Mamaea, diademed, draped, l., *vis-à-vis*. IMP SEV ALEXAND AVG IVLIA MAMAEA AVG MAT AVG.

*Rev.* Alexander seated l., holding Victory and sceptre, crowned by Victory: in front, soldier placing shield, inscribed VOT X, on column. P M TR P VIII COS III P P.

As (?). M.S. iv. 2, p. 124, no. 666.

(e) *Obv.* As on (b) but IMP ALEXANDER PIVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS VIGENNALIBVS in laurel-wreath.

Aureus. M.S. iv. 2, p. 90, no. 260.

All of Rome.

MAXIMIN I, A.D. 235-8.

33. A.D. 235. 'vota decennalia' ('suscepta').<sup>45</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Maximin, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in wreath.

Rome. Denarius. M.S. iv. 2, p. 141, no. 17.

BALBINUS and PAPIENUS, A.D. 238.

34. A.D. 238. 'vota decennalia' ('suscepta').

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Balbinus, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAES D CAEL BALBINVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS S C in wreath.

Sestertius. M.S. iv. 2, p. 171, no. 20 (cf. Pl. 13. 3—Dupondius).

(b) *Obv.* Bust of Pupienus, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAES M CLOD PVPIENVS AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a).

Sestertius. M.S. iv. 2, p. 175, no. 18, Pl. 13. 7.

Both of Rome.

GORDIAN III, A.D. 238-44.

35. A.D. 238. 'vota decennalia' ('suscepta').<sup>46</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Gordian III, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAES M ANT GORDIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in laurel-wreath.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. iv. 3, p. 17, no. 14, Pl. 1. 7.

PHILIP I, A.D. 244-9.

36. A.D. 244. 'vota decennalia' ('suscepta') of Philip I.

*Obv.* Bust of Philip I, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in wreath.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. iv. 3, p. 74, no. 53 a, Pl. 5. 19.

37. A.D. 246. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta) of Philip II.<sup>47</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Philip II, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP M IVL PHILIPPVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS S C in laurel-wreath.

Rome. Sestertius. M.S. iv. 3, p. 103, no. 269 (confirmation required).

## TRAJAN DECIUS, A.D. 249-51.

38. A.D. 249. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta) of Trajan Decius.<sup>48</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Trajan Decius, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in laurel-wreath.

Antoninianus. M.S. iv. 3, p. 123, no. 30.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but laureate, draped or draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAES C MESS Q DECIO TRAI AVG (or TRAI Q DECIO AVG).

*Rev.* As in (a) but S C.

Sestertius. M.S. iv. 3, p. 134, no. 110 a and b.

39. A.D. 251. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta) of Herennius Etruscus.<sup>49</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Herennius Etruscus, radiate, draped, r. IMP C Q HER ETR MES DECIO AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in laurel-wreath.

Antoninianus. M.S. iv. 3, p. 140, no. 155 a.

All of Rome.

## TREBONIANUS GALLUS and VOLUSIAN, A.D. 251-3.

40. A.D. 251. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta) for Trebonianus Gallus,<sup>50</sup> followed by similar vows for Hostilian (as Augustus) and Volusian (as Augustus).

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Trebonianus Gallus, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAE C VIB TREB GALLVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in laurel-wreath.

Antoninianus. M.S. iv. 3, p. 163, no. 49, Pl. 13. 14.

(b) *Obv.* Bust of Hostilian, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAE C VAL HOS MES QVINTVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS S C in laurel-wreath.

Sestertius. M.S. iv. 3, p. 150, no. 226.

(c) *Obv.* Bust of Volusian, draped, head bare, r. C VIBIO VOLVSIANO CAES.

*Rev.* As on (b).

As. M.S. iv. 3, p. 187, no. 243.

(d) *Obv.* Bust of Volusian, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP CAE C VIB VOLVSIANO AVG.

*Rev.* As on (b).

Sestertius. M.S. iv. 3, p. 189, no. 264.

All of Rome.

## AEMILIAN, A.D. 253.

## 41. A.D. 253. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta).

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Aemilian, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP  
AEMILIANVS PIVS FEL AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in laurel-wreath.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 3, p. 195, no. 13.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but IMP CAES AEMILIANVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a) but S C.

Rome. Dupondius. M.S. iv. 3, p. 200, no. 54 b,  
Pl. 16. 9.

## VALERIAN I and GALLIENUS.

Valerian, A.D. 253-8.

Gallienus, A.D. 253-68.

Gallienus, 'vota x' (soluta), A.D. 262-3.

42. A.D. 253. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta) of Valerian and Gallienus.<sup>51</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Valerian I, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP  
C P LIC VALERIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIBVS in laurel-wreath.

Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 49, no. 139.

(b) *Obv.* Bust of Gallienus, laureate, draped, r. IMP C P LIC  
GALLIENVS AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a) but S C.

Sestertius. M.S. v. 1, p. 87, no. 250.

Both of Rome.

Perhaps to the same occasion belong the 'vota orbis':

(c) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* Two Victories fixing shield, inscribed S C, on palm.  
VOTA ORBIS.

Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 60, no. 294, Pl. 1. 8 (also  
with *obv.* ending P F AVG, no. 295).

(d) *Obv.* As on (b) but radiate, draped, cuirassed.

*Rev.* As on (c).

Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 104, no. 459 (also with  
*obv.* ending P F AVG, no. 460).

Both of the East.

43. A.D. 262-3. 'vota soluta decennalia suscepta vicennalia' of Gallienus.<sup>52</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Gallienus, laureate, cuirassed, r. GALLIENVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS DECENNALIB in laurel-wreath.

Rome. Aureus. M.S. v. 1, p. 138, no. 92.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but radiate, draped, cuirassed, r.

*Rev.* As on (a).

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 160, no. 334.

(c) *Obv.* As on (b).

*Rev.* Victory standing r., inscribing shield set on palm.  
VOTA DECENNALIA.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 159, no. 333.

(d) *Obv.* As on (b) but cuirassed only.

*Rev.* VOTIS X in laurel-wreath.

Siscia. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 184, no. 598.

(e) *Obv.* As on (b) but cuirassed only.

*Rev.* Genius standing l., holding globe and cornucopiae: to r. standard. FIDEI PRAET VOTA X.

Siscia. M.S. v. 1, p. 181, no. 569.

(f) *Obv.* Head of Gallienus, radiate, r. GALLIENVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOT X ET XX in laurel-wreath.

Rome. Aureus. M.S. v. 1, p. 138, no. 95 (also with *obv.* GALLIENVS P F AVG, no. 94).

(g) *Obv.* As on (d).

*Rev.* Victory affixing shield to palm. VOTA VICENNALIA.

Mediolanum. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 178, no. 541.

The *rev.* VOT or VOTIS in laurel-wreath, M.S. iv. 3, p. 160, no. 335, if correctly recorded, probably belongs to the same occasion.

CLAUDIUS II, A.D. 268-70.

44. A.D. 268. 'vota orbis' ('vota suscepta x' on accession?).<sup>53</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Claudius II, radiate, cuirassed, r. IMP CLAVDIVS AVG.

*Rev.* Two Victories fixing shield, inscribed S C, on palm. VOTA ORBIS.

Siscia. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 1, p. 227, no. 196 (so also at Antioch, p. 230, no. 226).

QUINTILLUS, A.D. 270. No mention of vows.

AURELIAN, A.D. 270-5. No mention of vows, unless the ingenious suggestion that the VSV on *rev.* VICTORIA AVG of Aurelian (Rome.

Denarius. M.S. v. 1, p. 273, nos. 71 ff.) and on *rev.* VENVS FELIX of Severina (Rome. Denarius. M.S. v. 1, p. 316, no. 6.) means 'vota soluta' should prove to be correct.<sup>54</sup>

TACITUS, A.D. 275-6.

45. A.D. 275. 'vota x et xx' (for meaning, see note).<sup>55</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Tacitus, laureate, l., to waist, holding spear. IMP C M CL TACITVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Tacitus standing l., crowned by Mars: facing him, Victory seated, holding shield, inscribed VOTIS XX. VOTIS X ET XX.

Rome. As. M.S. v. 1, p. 337, no. 109.

FLORIAN, A.D. 276. No mention of vows.

PROBUS, A.D. 276–82.

46. A.D. 276. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta).<sup>56</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Probus, radiate, cuirassed, r. IMP C M AVR PROBVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Two Victories attaching shield, inscribed VOT X, to palm, between two captives. VICTORIAE AVGVSTI.

Siscia. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 81, no. 601.

(b) *Obv.* Bust of Probus, laureate, cuirassed, r., holding spear and whip. IMP C PROBVS AVG.

*Rev.* Probus standing l., holding spear, crowned by Victory and receiving little Victory on globe from soldier, who stands r. by palm, on which is shield, inscribed VOTIS.

Ticinum. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 49, no. 310 (of this occasion (?)).

47. A.D. 280 (?). 'vota x et xx' (for meaning, see note).<sup>57</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Probus, radiate, cuirassed, r. IMP C PROBVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS X ET XX FEL in laurel-wreath.

Ticinum. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 67, no. 458, Pl. III. 5 (also with CONS III on obv., nos. 460 f.).

Cf. rev. VOTIS X PROBI AVG ET XX, nos. 462 f. (obv. IMP C M AVR PROBVS AVG and VIRTVS PROBI AVG).

(b) *Obv.* Bust of Probus, radiate, draped, cuirassed, l., with spear and shield, inscribed VOTIS X ET XX. VIRTVS PROBI AVG.

*Rev.* Probus and Concordia clasping hands. CONCOR MILI.

Ticinum. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 52, no. 328 (the same obv., with rev. FELICITAS SAE, p. 56, no. 362, and with rev. ERCVLI PACIFERO, p. 59, no. 383).

(c) *Obv.* Bust of Probus, laureate, cuirassed, l., with spear. PROBVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Victory in biga galloping r. VOTA SOLVTA X.

Rome. Semis. M.S. v. 2, p. 48, no. 305.

Confirmation is required. 'Vota x' could not, in the ordinary way, be 'soluta' in A.D. 280; but the formula, VOTIS X ET XX FEL., might seem to imply that they were.

CARUS, CARINUS, and NUMERIAN.

Carus, A.D. 282–3.

Carinus, A.D. 282–5.

Numerian, A.D. 283–4.

48. A.D. 282. 'vota decennalia' (suscepta) of Carus and Carinus.<sup>58</sup>

*Obv.* Busts of Carus and Carinus, both laureate, draped, cuirassed, l. and r., *vis-à-vis*. IMPP CARVS ET CARINVS AVGG.

*Rev.* Two Victories supporting shield, inscribed VOTIS X. VICTORIAE AVGVSTI.

Siscia. Gold medallion. M.S. v. 2, p. 153, no. 146.

49. A.D. 283. 'vota publica' (for occasion, see note).<sup>59</sup>

*Obv.* Bust of Numerian, radiate, cuirassed, r. IMP C NVMERI  
ANVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Numerian and Carinus sacrificing at altar: behind, two  
standards. VOTA PVBLICA.

Siscia. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 200, no. 461.

## THE GALLIC EMPERORS

POSTUMUS, A.D. 258-68. 'vota v', A.D. 262-3; 'vota x', A.D. 267-8. '

50. A.D. 262-3. 'vota soluta v suscepta x'.<sup>60</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Postumus, laureate, draped, r. POSTVMVS PIVS  
AVG.

*Rev.* Victory standing r., inscribing X (or VOT X) on shield.  
QVINQVENNALES POSTVMI AVG.

Lugdunum. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 339, no. 34.

(b) *Obv.* Head of Postumus, laureate, r. IMP C POSTVMVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Victory seated on spoils in front of trophy, inscribing  
VOT X on shield. VICTORIA AVG.

Lugdunum. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 340, no. 41.

(c) *Obv.* Bust of Postumus, helmeted, cuirassed, l. POSTVMVS  
AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a) but VX on shield.

Lugdunum. Gold quinarius. M.S. v. 2, p. 341, no. 50.

(d) *Obv.* Head of Postumus, bare, to front. POSTVMVS AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a) but Q on shield.

Lugdunum. Gold quinarius. M.S. v. 2, p. 341, no. 51.

51. A.D. 267-8. 'vota soluta x suscepta xx'.<sup>61</sup>

*Obv.* Jugate busts of Postumus and Hercules, r. POSTVMVS  
PIVS AVG.

*Rev.* Victory, half-length, r., inscribing VOT XX on shield.

Cologne. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 358, no. 258, Pl.

XIII. 9 (cf. the Antoninianus, rev. Victory standing r.,  
VO XX on shield, p. 361, no. 295).

LAELIANUS and MARIUS, A.D. 268. No mention of vows.

VICTORINUS, A.D. 268-70.

52. A.D. 268 (?). 'vota Augusti' (for occasion, see note).<sup>62</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Victorinus, laureate, cuirassed, r. IMP CAES  
VICTORINVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Jugate busts of Roma and Diana r. VOTA AVGVSTI.

Lugdunum. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 390, no. 31.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but IMP VICTORINVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Busts of Sol r. and Diana l., *vis-à-vis*. VOTA AVGVSTI.

Lugdunum. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 390, no. 33.



## TETRICUS I and II

Tetricus I, A.D. 270-4.

Tetricus II, A.D. 273-4 (Caesar earlier).

The evidence for vows at accession is slight: the rev. VOTA PVBLICA, Altar, Antoninianus, M.S. v. 2, p. 411, no. 149, seems to be the only type that might apply to them.

53. A.D. 274. 'vota soluta v suscepta x.'<sup>63</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Busts of Tetricus I, laureate, draped, r., and Tetricus II, draped, head bare, l., *vis-à-vis*. IMPP TETRICI AVGG.

*Rev.* Tetricus II standing r. and receiving a globe from Tetricus I, who stands l.: altar. P M TR P COS III P P VOTA or VOT X.

Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 416, no. 204.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but IMPP TETRICI PII AVGG.

*Rev.* Victory seated l., inscribing VOX on shield. VICTORIA AVG.

Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 417, no. 210.

(c) *Obv.* As on (a).

*Rev.* Tetricus I standing l., sacrificing at altar, beside which stands Tetricus II, holding globe and crowned by Victory. P M TR P COS III P P VOTA.

Denarius. M.S. v. 2, p. 418, no. 214.

All of Lugdunum.

## THE BRITISH EMPERORS

CARAUSIUS, A.D. 286-93. 'vota v', A.D. 290-1.

54. A.D. 290-1. 'vota soluta v suscepta x.'<sup>64</sup>

(a) *Obv.* Bust of Carausius, laureate, draped, r. IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre. PAX AVG VOT V.

Londinium. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 463, no. 3.

(b) *Obv.* As on (a) but IMP C CARAVSIVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a) but MVLX.

Londinium. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 463, no. 4.

(c) *Obv.* Bust of Carausius, radiate, cuirassed, r. IMP CARAVSIVS P AVG.

*Rev.* Carausius receiving Victory from Roma seated l., holding spear. VOTA QVI CAE  $\frac{1}{MX}$

Unattributed. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 549, no. 1095 (confirmation required).

54 A. 'voto publico multis xx.'<sup>65</sup>

(a) *Obv.* As on (a) in 54.

*Rev.* Altar inscribed MVLXIS XX IMP. VOTO PVBLICO.

RSR. mint. Denarius. M.S. v. 2, p. 514, no. 595 (rev. VOTVM PVBLIC or PVBLICVM also occurs).

- (b) *Obv.* As on (a) but also cuirassed.

*Rev.* VOTO PVBLICO MVLTVS XX IMP in wreath.

RSR. mint. Denarius. M.S. v. 2, p. 514, no. 596 (cf. rev. Altar, VOTVM PVBLIC or PVBLICVM, no. 597).

ALLECTUS, A.D. 293-6. No mention of vows.

### DIOCLETIAN AND HIS COLLEAGUES

DIOCLETIAN, A.D. 284-305. 'vota x', A.D. 293-4; 'vota xx', A.D. 303-4.

MAXIMIAN, A.D. 286-305. His vows should, strictly, fall over a year after those of Diocletian, but it seems that the two colleagues celebrated them together.

GALERIUS, Caesar, A.D. 293. 'vota x', A.D. 302-3.

CONSTANTIUS I, Caesar, A.D. 293. 'vota x', A.D. 302-3.

55. A.D. 286. 'vota x' of Diocletian and Maximian.<sup>66</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Bust of Diocletian in imperial mantle, l., holding eagle-tipped sceptre. IMP DIOCLETIANVS P AVG.

*Rev.* Diocletian and Maximian sacrificing at altar. VOTIS X.

Lugdunum. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 230, no. 109.

- (b) *Obv.* Bust of Maximian in imperial mantle, l., holding eagle-tipped sceptre. IMP MAXIMIANVS P AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a).

Lugdunum. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 273, no. 466.

- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Maximian, radiate, cuirassed, r. MAXIMIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* As on (a).  $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{PTR.}}$

Treviri. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 275, no. 486.

(Cf. rev. VOTIS AVGG at the same mint, M.S. v. 2, p. 275, no. 485; rev. VOTIS DECENNALIBVS, C. 668 (small bronze: not in M.S.))

56. A.D. 293-4. 'vota x multa xx' of Diocletian and Maximian.<sup>67</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Bust of Diocletian, laureate, l., holding sceptre. IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* Two Victories inscribing VOT X FEL on shield, set on palm. PRIMIS X MVLTVS XX.

Rome. Aureus. M.S. v. 2, p. 233, no. 130.

- (b) *Obv.* Bust of Diocletian, radiate, cuirassed, r. IMP DIOCLETIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* Jupiter standing l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre. PRIMIS X MVLTVS XX.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 238, no. 175 (cf. other rev. at the same mint, Jupiter as on (b): but eagle, M.S. v. 2, p. 238, no. 176; Victory standing r., inscribing VOT X on shield, set on palm, no. 177, &c.).

- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Diocletian, radiate, draped, r. DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* VOT X M XX in laurel-wreath.

Lugdunum. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 230, no. 108.

(d) *Obv.* As on (c).

*Rev.* Victory standing l. on globe, holding wreath and palm.

VOT X M XX  $\frac{D}{PTR}$

Treviri. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 232, no. 125.

(e) *Obv.* Head of Diocletian, laureate, r. DIOCLETIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* VOTIS X SIC XX in laurel-wreath.

Small bronze. C. 534 (not in M.S. v. 2).

(f) *Obv.* Bust of Maximian, radiate, cuirassed, r. IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Hercules standing r., holding club, bow, and lion's skin. PRIMIS X MVLTI XX.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 278, no. 511.

(g) *Obv.* As on (f) but also draped.

*Rev.* Victory standing r., inscribing VOT X on shield, set on palm. PRIMIS X MVLTI XX.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 279, no. 513.

(h) *Obv.* As on (g).

*Rev.* Two Victories inscribing VOT X (or VOTA) on shield, set on palm. PRIMIS X MVLTI XX.

Rome. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 279, no. 514.

(i) *Obv.* Bust of Maximian, radiate, cuirassed, r. MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* VOT X M XX in laurel-wreath.

Lugdunum. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 273, no. 468.

(j) *Obv.* As on (i) but MAXIMIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* Victory standing l. on globe, holding wreath and palm.

VOT X M XX  $\frac{D}{PTR}$

Treviri. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 275, no. 487.

(k) *Obv.* Bust of Galerius, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. MAXIMIANVS NOB C.

*Rev.* Victory standing l. on globe, holding wreath and palm.

VOT X M X X  $\frac{D}{PTR}$

Treviri. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 306, no. 703.

56 A. A.D. 293-4. 'vota x' of Galerius and Constantius I (Caesars).<sup>68</sup>

(a) *Obv.* As on (k) in 56.

*Rev.* Galerius standing l., sacrificing at altar.  $\frac{D}{PTR}$

Treviri. Antoninianus. M.S. v. 2, p. 306, no. 702.

(b) *Obv.* Head of Galerius, laureate, r. MAXIMIANVS CAESAR.

*Rev.* VOT X CAESS in laurel-wreath.

Aureus. C. 237 (not in M.S. v. 2) (cf. rev. VOT X, C. 239).

- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Constantius, radiate, draped, r. CONSTANTIVS NOB C.

*Rev.* VOT X FK or T in laurel-wreath.

Small bronze. C. 328 ff. (not in M.S. v. 2).

- (d) *Obv.* Head of Constantius, laureate, r. CONSTANTIVS CAES.

*Rev.* VOT X CAES in oak-wreath.

Aureus. C. 332 (not in M.S. v. 2) (cf. rev. VOT X CAESS, C. 333).

56 B. A.D. 302-3. 'vota x sic xx' of Galerius and Constantius I.<sup>69</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Bust of Galerius, radiate, draped, r. GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS NOB C.

*Rev.* Victory standing on globe, holding wreath and palm. VOT X M XX.

Small bronze. C. 241 (cf. rev. MVLTX in wreath, C. 153).

- (b) *Obv.* Head of Galerius, laureate, r. MAXIMIANVS N C.

*Rev.* VOTIS X SIC XX in laurel-wreath.

Gold quinarius. C. 236.

- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Galerius, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. MAXIMIANVS NOB C.

*Rev.* VOT XX in laurel-wreath.

Small bronze. C. 245 ff.

- (d) *Obv.* Head of Constantius I, laureate, r. CONSTANTIVS N C.

*Rev.* VOTIS X SIC XX in laurel-wreath.

Small bronze. C. 326.

- (e) *Obv.* Head of Constantius I, laureate, r. CONSTANTIVS N C.

*Rev.* VOT XX CAES in laurel-wreath.

Small bronze. C. 341 (cf. rev. VOT XX or XXV. C. 335).

The rev. VOT XX, C. 245, of Galerius, C. 338, VOT XX SIC XXX, C. 343, of Constantius I, refer to the vows of the Augusti (no. 57).

57. A.D. 303-4. 'vota xx mult xxx' of Diocletian and Maximian.<sup>70</sup>

- (a) *Obv.* Head of Diocletian, laureate, r. DIOCLETIANVS AVG.

*Rev.* Jupiter seated l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre. PRIM

XX IOVI AVGVSTI.  $\frac{1}{\text{TR.}}$

Treviri. Aureus. C. 393.

- (b) *Obv.* As on (a) but DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* Two Victories standing, holding a scroll inscribed

SIC XX SIC XXX. VOTIS ROMANORVM.  $\frac{1}{\text{AQ.}}$

Aquileia. Aureus. C. 530.

- (c) *Obv.* Bust of Diocletian, radiate, draped, r. IMP CC VAL DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG.

*Rev.* VOT XX in laurel-wreath.

Small bronze. C. 541 ff. (cf. rev. VOT XX AVG, C. 539).

- (d) *Obv.* As on (b).

- Rev.* VOT XX AVGGG (*sic*) in necklet, below which is eagle, with wings spread.  
Aureus. C. 540.
- (e) *Obv.* As on (b).  
*Rev.* VOT XX SIC XXX in laurel-wreath.  
Aureus. C. 545.
- (f) *Obv.* Head of Diocletian, laureate, r. DIOCLETIANVS AV GVSTVS.  
*Rev.* XX DIOCLETANI AVG in laurel-wreath.  
Aureus. C. 549.
- (g) *Obv.* Head of Maximian, laureate, r. MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.  
*Rev.* Two Victories holding scroll inscribed SIC XX SIC XXX  $\frac{1}{AQ}$ .  
GAVDETE ROMANI.  
Aquileia. Gold quinarius. C. 130.
- (h) *Obv.* Head of Maximian, laureate, r. MAXIMIANVS AVG.  
*Rev.* SIC X SIC XX in laurel-wreath.  
Small bronze. C. 533.
- (i) *Obv.* Bust of Maximian, radiate, draped, cuirassed, r. IMP C M MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.  
*Rev.* VOT XX in laurel-wreath.  
Small bronze. C. 675 ff. (cf. *rev.* VOT XX AVGG NN. C. 688 (aureus)).
- (j) *Obv.* As on (g).  
*Rev.* VOT XX AVGG in oak-wreath, below which is eagle with wings spread.  
Aureus. C. 685.
- (k) *Obv.* Head of Maximian, laureate, r. MAXIMIANVS P AVG.  
*Rev.* VOT XX SIC XXX in laurel-wreath.  
Aureus. C. 689.
- (l) *Obv.* Bust of Maximian, laureate, cuirassed, r. IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG.  
*Rev.* VOTIS XXX in laurel-wreath.  
Small bronze. C. 673.
- (m) *Obv.* Bust of Maximian, radiate, cuirassed, r. MAXIMIANVS AVG.  
*Rev.* VOT XXX AVGG in laurel-wreath.  
Small bronze. C. 690 (cf. *rev.* VOT XXX AVG N, C. 692, VOT XXX AVGG NN, C. 693).  
The types of Diocletian, VOTA PVBLICA, C. 528, VOTIS FELICIBVS, C. 529, and of Maximian, VOTA PVBLICA, C. 666 f., are connected with the worship of Isis (see Alföldi, *op. cit.*).<sup>71</sup>

GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS I, Augusti.

Galerius, A.D. 305-11.

Constantius I, A.D. 305-6.

58. A.D. 305. 'vota xx' of Galerius and Constantius I, Augusti;<sup>72</sup>  
 'vota x' of Severus and Maximin II, Caesars.
- (a) *Obv.* Bust of Constantius I, laureate, draped, cuirassed, r.  
 IMP C FL VAL CONSTANTIVS P F AVG.  
*Rev.* Victory seated on spoils, inscribing VOT X on shield.  
 VICTORIA BEATISSIMORVM CAESS.  
 Medallion. C. 285.
- (b) *Obv.* Head of Constantius I, laureate, r. CONSTANTIVS AVG.  
*Rev.* VOT XX AVGG NN in laurel-wreath.  
 Small bronze. C. 339 f.
- (c) *Obv.* Head of Severus, laureate, r. SEVERVS NOB C.  
*Rev.* VOT X CAESS in laurel-wreath.  
 Small bronze. C. 78.
- (d) *Obv.* Head of Severus, laureate, r. FL VAL SEVERVS NOB CAES.  
*Rev.* VOT XX AVGG in wreath.  
 Small bronze. C. 79.
- (e) *Obv.* Head of Maximin II, laureate, r. MAXIMINVS NOB C.  
*Rev.* VOT X CAESS in laurel-wreath.  
 Small bronze. C. 217 (Cf. rev. VOT X, C. 219).
- (f) *Obv.* Head of Maximin II, laureate, r. MAXIMINVS AVG.  
*Rev.* VOT X CAESS NN in wreath.  
 Small bronze. C. 218 (note irregular obverse legend.)  
 The rev. SIC X SIC XX of Maximian, C. 152, if correctly reported, seems to refer to the vows of the Augusti, Galerius does not record any vows as Augustus, unless C. 688 (Maximian-rev. VOT XX AVGG NN in wreath) really belongs to him.<sup>73</sup>

## NOTES

1. For vows in general, cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer*, 1912, pp. 380 ff.; Marquadt, *Röm. St.* V., pp. 254 ff. For vows on imperial coins, cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, viii, pp. 473 ff.; Eichstadt, *Opusc. Orat.* ii, pp. 208 ff.; Schwabe, *Kaiser. Decennalien*, Tübingen, 1886.

For the special vows of the Arval Brethren, cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1871. The proceedings of the sacred college, devoted to the worship of the Dea Dia, give us a remarkable picture of religious ceremonies under the Empire and of the vows in particular. Apart from the annual vows—frequently mentioned—and the decennial—some three times only—there are special vows for accession, reception of tribunician power, arrival or departure of the Emperor, for birthdays in the imperial family, for adoptions, births, triumphs, &c. The vows vary with the occasion. Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva are usually in the centre of the picture, but other gods—Mars, Hercules, Neptune—or 'Virtues', such as Felicitas, Pax, Providentia, Securitas, and Victory, or the Genius P.R. are invoked as occasion demands. Deified Emperors and Empresses are sometimes included. From all this one can form a clear idea of the sort of coin-types that are likely to accompany votive occasions.

For the special vows of Isis and other Egyptian deities, cf. A. Alföldi, *A Festival of Isis*, &c., Budapest, 1937.

2. The natural day to be chosen, then, would be the 'dies imperii'. In some cases, where an Emperor was created outside Rome and only recognized by the senate later, there might be a question as to which the 'dies imperii' actually was.

It will appear below under Trajan (no. 12) that that Emperor celebrated his 'vota soluta xx' in A.D. 115-16, reckoning from his 'natalis imperii', the day of the accession of Nerva.

We know from the history of the tribunician power under the Empire how variously such a question of dating might be treated. It might be reckoned in complete years, 'a die in diem', or in one broken year, to 10 December or to 31 December, with complete calendar years following. It seems, however, that the 'vota' were always reckoned 'a die in diem' from the first 'natalis'.

3. The most vital passage on the vows of Augustus is contained in Dio Cassius, liii. 16. He writes of the settlement of 27 B.C.: in control of the finances and the armies 'ὁ Καῖσαρ . . . αὐταρχήσῃν ἐμελλεν. τῆς γοῦν δεκαετίας ἐξελεύσεως ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε, εἴτα πέντε καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο δέκα καὶ ἕτερα αὖθις δέκα πεμπτάκις ἃ αὐτῷ ἐψηφίσθη, ὥστε τῇ τῶν δεκετηρίδων διαδοχῇ διὰ βίου αὐτὸν μοναρχῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορες, καίτοι μηκέτι ἐς τακτὸν χρόνον ἄλλ' ἐς πάντα καθάπαξ τὸν βίον ἀποδεικνύμενοι ὁμῶς διὰ τῶν δέκα ἀεὶ ἐτῶν ἐώρτασαν ὥς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὖθις τότε ἀνανεούμενοι. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν γίνεται.' Note that after the first ten years, 27-18 B.C., there were two renewals of five years each, 18-13 B.C., and 13-8 B.C., and then two renewals of ten years each, 8 B.C.-A.D. 2 and A.D. 12-13.

Dio Cassius, liv. 12, 18 B.C., writes: 'πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς πέντε τῆς προστασίας ἔτη, ἐπειδὴ περ ὁ δεκῆτης χρόνος ἐξήκων ἦν, προσέθετο . . . ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Ἀγρίππᾳ ἄλλα τε ἐξ ἴσου τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν δημαρχικὴν, ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἔδωκε. τοσαῦτα γὰρ σφισιν ἔτη τότε ἐπαρκέσειν ἔφη· ὕστερον γὰρ οὐ πολλῶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε τῆς αὐτοκράτορος ἡγεμονίας προσέλαβεν, ὥστε αὐτὰ δέκα αὖθις γενέσθαι.' Dio Cassius, liv. 19, records in 16 B.C. 'κὰν τούτῳ καὶ τὴν πενταετηρίδα τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ διεώρασαν': this looks like a celebration continued, as we find it on several occasions, over the normal term. Dio Cassius, liv. 28, 13 B.C., writes: 'κὰν τούτῳ τὸν Ἀγρίππαν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐλθόντα τῇ τε δημαρχικῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὖθις ἐς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε ἐμεγάλυνε, κτλ.'

The five-year period, with its vows, then, was not unknown from the beginning, though, for a long time, it was overshadowed by these ten-year periods. Note the *Res Gestae divi Augusti*, ch. 9: 'vota p[ro valetudine mea] susc[ipi] p[er cons]ules et sacerdotes qu[on]to qu[oque] anno senatus decrevit. ex iis] votis s[ae]p[er] fecerunt vivo m[e] ludos aliquotiens sacerdotu]m quattuor amplissima colle[gia, aliquotiens consules].' The restorations of the text are reasonably well assured by the Greek version.

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 97, records as an omen of the death of Augustus: 'cum lustrum in campo Martio magna populi frequentia conderet, aquila eum saepius circumvolavit transgressaque in vicinam aedem super nomen Agrippae ad primam litteram sedit; quo animadverso vota, quae in proximum lustrum suscipi mos est, collegam suum Tiberium nuncupare iussit, nam se, quamquam conscriptis paratisque iam tabulis negavit suscepturum quae non esset soluturus.' But the 'lustrum' here is presumably the regular censorial period—not a 'quinquennium imperii.'

Dio Cassius, li. 1, records in 31 B.C. the 'ἀγὼν πεντετηρικός', founded for the victory of Actium, and again, liii. 1, 28 B.C., the celebration of the same festival by Augustus and Agrippa in Rome, '... καὶ αὕτη ... διὰ πέντε αἰὲ ἐτῶν μέχρι που ἐγγίγνεται'. But this seems to have been a four-yearly festival—according to one use of the word 'πεντετηρικός'. The same may be true of the 'quinquennale certamen gymnicum', established in honour of Augustus at Naples, Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 98, A.D. 14, and of the πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες founded by Herod in honour of Augustus (cf. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xv. 8; xvi. 5).

4. The Fortuna Redux, to whom the vows were paid, was the dual goddess of Antium (Fortuna Felix and Fortuna Fortis?)

Rustius—whether or no a III Vir of the mint—struck this special issue in pursuance of a decree of the senate (S C, EX S C). He, it seems, inaugurated the revival of the senatorial mint of Rome after a long period of almost complete inactivity.

For the occasion, cf. Dio Cassius, liv. 10—19 B.C.: many honours offered to Augustus on his return from the East, 'ὧν οὐδὲν προσήκατο πλὴν Τύχῃ ... Ἐπαναγῶγῃ (οὕτω γὰρ πως αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν) βωμόν ιδρυθῆναι.'

It is not expressly stated that the altar was erected 'ex voto': but, even if the dedication had not been foreseen, it would naturally take that form in the end.

5. Cf. Dio Cassius, liv. 19: after Augustus had left Rome for Gaul with Tiberius in 16 B.C., a number of prodigies occurred and 'εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπανόδου τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐποιήσαντο'. Dio adds (in a passage already quoted in n. 3) that they also celebrated the πεντετηρίς of the rule of Augustus. If Dio is correct, the celebration, on this occasion, was at least a year beyond the normal term; it would, however, supply a natural explanation for the remarkable coinage of the year, full of glorification of the person and achievement of Augustus.

These vows are certainly 'suscepta' (cf. nos. *e* and *f*); but the formulation of no. *c*, 'because the State has been preserved with the salvation of Caesar Augustus', and no. *d*, 'because through him the State is in a richer and quieter condition', suggests benefits already rendered, for which one might expect vows to be paid.

Suetonius does not mention the vows to Jupiter in this year, but *does* record that, after the disaster of Varus, Augustus 'vovit et magnos ludos Ioui Optimo Maximo, si res p. in meliorem statum vertisset': of these vows the coins have nothing to say.

6. Cf. Dio Cassius, lvii. 24, A.D. 24: 'διελθόντων δὲ τῶν δέκα ἐτῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ψηφίσματος μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀνάληψιν αὐτῆς οὐδένοσ ἐδεήθη (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδεῖτο κατατέμνων αὐτήν, ὥσπερ ὁ Αὐγούστος, ἀρχεῖν), ἡ μὲντοι πανήγυρις ἡ δεκαετηρίς ἐποιήθη.'

For vows under Tiberius, cf. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 38: almost every year there was talk of the Emperor visiting the provinces and 'ad extremum vota pro itu et reditu suo suscipi passus (est)'; 54: anger of Tiberius when he learned 'ineunte anno pro eorum (Nero and Drusus) quoque salute publice vota suscepta' (cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 17). Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 47: 'decrevere patres vota pro reditu eius', when Tiberius proposed to leave for Gaul in A.D. 21; iii. 71, A.D. 22, a gift vowed by the Roman knights to Fortuna equestris 'pro valetudine Augustae'.

For the second 'decennalia', cf. Dio Cassius, lviii. 24: 'μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα



εἰκοστοῦ ἔτους τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπιστάντος αὐτὸς μὲν, καίτοι περὶ τε τὸ Ἀλβανὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ Τούσκουλον διατρίβων, οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν ἐν τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ὕπατοι Λοῦκιός τε Οὐτέλλιος καὶ Φάβιος Περσικὸς τὴν δεκετηρίδα τὴν δευτέραν ἐώρτασαν' (A.D. 34).

7. For vows under Caligula, cf. Suetonius, *Caligula*, 14, A.D. 37: 'cum deinde paucos post dies in proximas Campaniae insulas traiecisset, vota pro reditu suscepta sunt . . . ut vero in adversam valetudinem incidit . . . non defuerunt qui depugnatos se armis pro salute aegri quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent.' Caligula required some such people to pay their vows (27).
8. For vows under Claudius, cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, xii. 68, A.D. 54: 'vocabatur interim senatus votaque pro incolumitate principis consules et sacerdotes nuncupabant, cum iam exanimis vestibus et fomentis obtegeretur'; cf. Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 45 . . . 'itaque et quasi pro aegro adhuc vota suscepta sunt'.
9. For vows of Nero, cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, 54: 'sub exitu quidem vitae palam voverat, si sibi incolumis status permansisset, proditurum se partae victoriae ludis etiam hydraulam et choraulam et utricularium.' The vows referred to in Suetonius, *Nero*, 46, 'votorum nuncupatione, magna iam ordinum frequentia, vix repertae Capitolii clausae' seem to be those of 3 January, A.D. 68.

Some attention must be paid to the 'quinquennale certamen' of Nero, as it bears some similarity to a πεντετηρίς of the vows.

Suetonius, *Nero*, 12, writes: 'instituit et quinquennale certamen primus omnium Romae more Graeco triplex, musicum gymnium equestre, quod appellavit Neronia;' and again, 21: 'cum magni aestimaret cantare etiam Romae, Neroneum agona ante praestitutam diem revocavit.' Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 20, gives us the date of the introduction, A.D. 60: 'quinquennale ludicrum Romae institutum est ad morem Graeci certaminis . . .'; xvi. 4 shows us the second celebration in A.D. 65: 'interea senatus, propinquo iam lustrali certamine, ut dedecus averteret, offert imperatori victoriam cantus, etc.'

The games, recorded by Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 15, seem to be distinct—a sort of prelude to the first 'Neronia': 'ne tamen adhuc publico theatro dehonestaretur, instituit ludos Iuvenalium vocabulo, etc.'

The coins freely commemorate the 'certamen quinquennale Romae constitutum', but seem only to have been struck for the second celebration.

Laffranchi, in a very interesting article in *Atti e Memorie dell' Ist. Ital.* iv (1921), pp. 47 ff., 'Il predicato P(ros) dei Sesterti di Nerone e la Profectio Augusti', has some interesting suggestions on implied references to vows on early imperial coins.

10. The Eastern issue, with mint-mark star, falls in A.D. 74 and might be associated with the end of the first five years of the reign (*B.M.C.* ii, pp. 99 ff.).
11. Domitian instituted the 'Agon Capitolinus', a 'quinquennale certamen' on the model of Nero's, in the summer of A.D. 86. It was actually celebrated at intervals of four years, the first and last being counted in to make the number five (Suetonius, *Domitian*, 4). The institution of the contest coincided with the end of Domitian's first 'lustrum'. But, like the Actian contest, this is not a true quinquennial celebration.

For vows under Domitian, cf. Martial, *Epigrams*, viii. 4:

quantus, io, Latias mundi conventus ad aras  
suscipit et solvit pro duce vota suo!  
non sunt haec hominum, Germanice, gaudia tantum,  
sed faciunt ipsi nunc, puto, sacra, dei.

12. The 'vota suscepta' begin in this issue, with *obv.* IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO, &c., the NER returning to the gold and silver after a long absence; they continue into the next issue, when 'Parthicus' is added. 'Parthicus' was certainly added early in A.D. 116, so the preceding issue must run from about the autumn of A.D. 115. The reappearance of NER directs attention back to the beginning of Trajan's reign. Are not the vows, then, 'vota sol. dec. ii susc. dec. iii', reckoned from A.D. 96, the year of the accession of Nerva?

Trajan celebrated his 'natalis' on 18 September, the date of the death of Domitian and the accession of Nerva: cf. Pliny, *Panegyric*, 92. 4. 5: 'nam quod ei nos potissimum mense attribuisti, quem tuus natalis exornat, quam pulchrum nobis! quibus edicto, quibus spectaculo celebrare continget diem illum triplici gaudio laetum, qui principem abstulit pessimum, dedit optimum, meliorem optimo genuit. nos sub oculis tuis augustior solito currus accipiet, nos inter secunda omina et vota certantia, quae praesenti tibi conferentur, vehemur alacres'; Epp. ad Traianum, 17. A. 2: 'aliquanto tardius, quam speraveram, id est XV kal. Octobris Bithyniam intravi. non possum tamen de mora queri, cum mihi contigerit . . . natalem tuum in provincia celebrare.' Pliny, it is true, refers to it as a real birthday ('meliorem optimo genuit'). But, taken in conjunction with the evidence of the 'vota' coins, it is surely possible that this was an official birthday, deliberately chosen for its associations. After all, it would be a very remarkable coincidence, if Trajan's own birthday had actually fallen on that critical date. Nerva sent Trajan to Germany in the autumn of A.D. 96, and, after his adoption, Trajan might not unnaturally regard himself as the predestined successor of Nerva from the first.

Strack (*Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung*, &c., i. 185 ff.) finds a 'vota' issue in A.D. 108. Later (pp. 226 ff.), he observes: 'und zudem werden die Decennalien und Vicennalien zu keiner Zeit nach de Iteration der tribunischen Gewalt sondern des "dies imperii" gefeiert. Trajan hat seine Vicennalien nicht mehr erlebt.' But the evidence of the coins and Pliny seems to prove that the 'natalis imperii' of Trajan, like his TR P, was subject to a special and unusual treatment. It is only necessary here to recall that Trajan reckoned his TR P III from the autumn of A.D. 98, and that, though this might be explained as Mommsen explained it, by Trajan's receiving TR P on adoption and renewing it on 10 December, another explanation would be that Trajan reckoned his TR P as recurring with that of his adoptive father, Nerva. If we are right in making Trajan's 'natalis imperii' the same as Nerva's, we shall probably be right in doing the same with his tribunician power.

If the issue of coins, with IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO, &c., began in autumn, A.D. 115, the previous issue, OPTIMO but not NER, must run for some months in A.D. 115, and the issue before that, without OPTIMVS, may run over into spring, A.D. 115. As it includes the remarkable type of CONSERVATORI PATRIS PATRIAE, Jupiter protecting the Emperor, it is naturally taken to refer to the miraculous escape of Trajan

from the earthquake of Antioch in A.D. 115 and, if so, supports the early date, January, not the late, December. The passage in Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 24-25, seems to read most naturally in this sense. Pedo the consul died in the earthquake, and the 'suffect', who, as we know from other sources took his place, will have been appointed on his death. F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, 1948, pp. 28 ff., after a long and very careful consideration of the whole problem, places the earthquake in December A.D. 115. But the evidence of the coins must be considered on the other side.

Pliny the Younger, writing from Bithynia to Trajan, reports that he and his province have paid and undertaken vows 'pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur' (*Epist.* x, no. 44, and Trajan's reply, 101). These would, of course, be normal annual vows, undertaken in the provinces as at Rome.

In this series appears, for the first time, the type of the two Genii, of senate and people of Rome, sacrificing as representatives of the Roman State (S P Q R).

13. These vows, occurring so near the beginning of the reign, are most naturally taken to be vows of accession, either the normal 'vota suscepta x', delayed because of Hadrian's absence from Rome, or special 'vota publica'—'pro salute et reditu Augusti'—replacing them. Strack (*Untersuchungen*, ii. 64 ff.) argues very persuasively that these were special vows 'pro salute et felicitate et aeternitate Augustae' (sc. Matidiae) and Hadrian certainly paid her peculiarly high honours just at this time: cf. *Historia Augusta, Hadrianus*, 9. 9: 'socrui suae honores praecipuos impendit ludis gladiatorii ceterisque officiis.' But it is difficult to believe that 'vota publica' did not concern the Emperor personally, though his 'domus' may well have been included in them. *Inscriptiones Italiae*, xiii, Fasti et Elogia, A.D. 127 record 'xiii k. Nov. lud[i] votivi decennale[s] facti pro] salute Aug(usti) die[bus] x . . .'. That should imply 20 October, A.D. 118, as the 'natalis imperii', and would confirm the guess that we have made above, that Hadrian deferred the celebration until his return to Rome; his return is thought to have occurred earlier in the year, perhaps in July.
14. The occasion is the departure of Hadrian from Rome on his first great imperial journey (*Historia Augusta, Hadrianus*, 10 f.; Dio Cassius, lxxix. 9 ff.). The vows are defined as 'suscepta pro reditu'. They correspond in time to the end of the first 'lustrum' of the reign; cf. Strack, op. cit., ii. 82 ff.
15. The vows are 'soluta' (note the bull). The view that I have taken is that the portrait of Hadrian is an early one of his last group, and that the date is A.D. 134-5, and the occasion his return from the Jewish war (cf. Dio Cassius, lxxix. 12 ff.). But Strack (op. cit., ii. 184 ff.) associates both our 15 and 16 with the 'vicennalia' of Hadrian, A.D. 137, and it must be admitted that these might be the 'vota dec. ii soluta'. The decision depends on the beginning date of Hadrian's last issue.
16. These vows are certainly the 'vota dec. iii suscepta' of Hadrian. It is probable that, with them, were associated vows for the two successive adoptions—of Aelius Caesar (cf. Dio Cassius, lxxix. 16) and of Antoninus Pius (Dio Cassius, lxxix. 20).

*Historia Augusta, Hadrianus*, 23. 16, tells us that Aelius 'ab Hadriano

votorum causa lugeri est vetitus'; as Aelius died on 1 January, it is the regular annual vows of 3 January that are intended.

17. It seems to be beyond reasonable doubt that Antoninus began by reckoning his tribunician powers, 'a die in diem', but, somewhere about A.D. 147, added one to his count by renewing it in advance on 10 December and continued the new count till the end of his reign. Cf. Strack, *Untersuchungen*, iii. 1 ff., and n. 1, 137 ff.; *B.M.C. Empire*, iv, pp. xxxix ff. The *Fasti Ostienses*, *Année épigraphique*, 1946-7, record birth of a son to Marcus and Faustina 30 November, and then 'Marcus trib. pot. iniit et Faustina Augusta cognominata est'.

It seems probable that Marcus was TR P only for the few days to 10 December—Antoninus being TR P X: that both renewed their powers on 10 December—Antoninus becoming TR P XI and Marcus TR P II, after which the two advanced year by year in concert. If the change was not exactly like this, it cannot have been far different.

From this year runs a long unbroken series of coins, dated by the formula P M TR P. COS, such as had never been known in long runs before. The hypothesis that Trajan had already made the change of TR P to 10 December is difficult and, perhaps, unnecessary (cf. no. 12 above).

Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 57, tells us that 'M. Silanus ex contumelia consulatus honorem principibus petivit dixitque pro sententia ut publicis privatisque monumentis ad memoriam temporum non consulum nomina praescriberentur, sed eorum qui tribuniciam potestatem gererent' (date, A.D. 23); the 'principes' are Tiberius and his son, Drusus Caesar. The long dated tribunician series of Antoninus and Marcus looks like the provision of such a dating.

18. Cf. *Historia Augusta, Marcus Aurelius*, 6. 6: 'post haec Faustinam duxit uxorem et suscepta filia tribunicia potestate donatus est.' The inscription quoted in 17 shows that Marcus only received the tribunician power after the birth of a son.
19. Antoninus Pius received the 'imperator' title at his adoption, 25 February, A.D. 138. He would naturally reckon his 'dies imperii' from that day rather than from 1 July, the death of Hadrian. His ninth year, then, would end on 25 February, A.D. 147.

The absence of 'vota' coins with TR P X remains a difficulty: we should naturally expect them.

20. With 'primi decennales' understand 'ludi'—the games accompanying the celebration of the vows.
21. The year A.D. 157-8 is unquestionably the correct one, both for 'vota soluta dec. ii' and for 'vota suscepta dec. iii'. The 'vota soluta' are carried on into A.D. 158-9, the 'vota suscepta' even into the next year, A.D. 159-60. The 'vota dec. ii' are not described as 'vota vicennalia', but, as a variant of 'vota suscepta dec. ii', 'vota vicennalia' are 'suscepta'—i.e. after twenty completed, a new twenty were begun—a variation of a third set of ten after two completed tens. Cf. Strack, *op. cit.* iii. 156 ff.
22. In the issues of Antoninus Pius of A.D. 151-2, the *praenomen* IMP reappears together with the name HADR. On the analogy of Marcus Aurelius (13), we should like to connect this with the vows—the IMP recalling the 'natalis imperii'. The dedication of the temple of Divus Hadrianus at the end of the third 'lustrum' of the reign might be the

occasion.<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Historia Augusta*, *Antoninus Pius*, 8, 'Romae templum Hadriani honori patris dicatum'.

In A.D. 155-6, again, the obverse legend of Antoninus changes from the form ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XIX to ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P IMP II and keeps that form until A.D. 157-8, when it goes back to the form ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XXII. Here, the mention of IMP II probably refers to a military victory (in Africa?) and has no reference to the impending vows of A.D. 157-8.

23. As Marcus Aurelius was not 'imperator' until he became Augustus, we cannot regard these vows as 'vota dec. ii susc.', reckoned from his first tribunician power. The vows are always related to the IMP, not to the TR P.

The alternative is to take the vows as 'vota dec. susc.' after 'vota v sol'. This, then, will be the first example of definite notice being taken of the completed 'quinquennium'. The absence of parallel vows for Lucius Verro is remarkable and is not fully explained by his absence in the East.

24. Cf. *Historia Augusta*, *Marcus Aurelius*, 2. 6: 'proficiscens ad bellum Germanicus filiam suam non decurso luctus tempore grandaevo equitis Romani filio Claudio Pompeiano dedit, genere Antiocheno nec satis nobili . . . cum filia eius Augusta esset et Augustae filia. sed has nuptias et Faustina et ipsa, quae dabatur, invitas habuerunt.'
25. These vows show the resumption of the 'praenomen' of 'imperator' for the occasion—a clear indication that it was the anniversary of the first acclamation as 'imperator' that was celebrated. Again, as in (9) above, there are 'ludi decennales' to accompany the vows. The reckoning here is obviously from the beginning of Marcus's reign.
26. The 'vota publica', undertaken and paid at this juncture, must surely be for the marriage of Commodus to Crispina. Cf. Dio Cassius, lxxi. 33: 'ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ Σκυθικὰ αὐτοῦ ἐδεήθη, γυναῖκα τῷ υἱεὶ θάπτων δι' αὐτὰ ἢ ἐβούλετο Κρισπῖναν συνῳκισεν'. *Historia Augusta*, 27. 5: 'Commodum deinde sibi collegam in tribuniciam potestatem iunxit . . . filio suo Brutti Praesentis filiam iunxit nuptiis.' As Marcus thereafter waged war for three years with the Hermunduri, Sarmatae, and Quadi (*Hist. Aug.* 27. 10) we reach a date in A.D. 177 for the marriage.
27. Commodus has two sets of 'vota dec. susc.'—one (15) of A.D. 181, the other (16) of A.D. 183 to 184, continued as far as A.D. 185-6. The earlier set is reckoned from Commodus' first 'imperator' title of 27 November, A.D. 176 (or 1 January, A.D. 177, see *B.M.C.* iv, pp. cxi, cxxix, 496), the latter from his accession as sole Emperor on the death of Marcus, 17 March, A.D. 180.
- The formula of 15, 'vota dec. ann. susc.' is exactly the same as that of 11 for Marcus Aurelius.
28. The vows seem to begin a little before the exact due time, A.D. 184-5, and to continue beyond it; but the actual year is A.D. 184-5 (TR P X). Games accompany the celebrations (PRIMI DECENNALES (ludi)), and the thought of the Golden Age is woven in (*d, e*).
29. The 'vota x' that fell due to be paid in A.D. 186-7 must be reckoned from Commodus's first 'imperium', A.D. 177 (or A.D. 176). They will have been undertaken in A.D. 187. As in 28, this celebration begins early and continues late. The absence of the victim in (*e*) is exceptional and incorrect.
30. The 'vota vigennalia' of A.D. 190-1 imply the payment of 'vota decen-

nalía', reckoned from the accession of Commodus, in A.D. 180; the term 'vigennalia' had already been used by Antoninus Pius as a less familiar variant of 'vota dec. ii' (cf. 10 above).

31. The date and character of the vows are alike established by the coins themselves, but it is not apparent when they had been undertaken. Perhaps we may suppose that they were connected with the accession of Commodus—that, apart from the vows taken for the person of the Emperor, vows had also been undertaken 'pro sal. p. R'—'if the Roman people shall have continued for ten years safe and prosperous' under its new Emperor, and that, now that new 'vota x' were being undertaken for Commodus, these vows could properly be paid. In that case, they would be very nearly akin to 'vota sol. x' of Commodus himself.

The most interesting feature of the vows of Commodus is that the 'quinquennium' begins to be clearly marked—between the first 'imperium' of Commodus and the vows of A.D. 181 (15)—between these vows and the vows paid in and around A.D. 186–7—between the accession of Commodus as sole Emperor and the vows undertaken in and around A.D. 184–5 (16)—and between these vows and the 'vota vigennalia' of A.D. 190–1.

Of the 'vota pro eo facta . . . nonis Piiis Fuscianos iterum consule' (5 April, A.D. 185), the coins have no record; the occasion may have been the outbreak of plague in Rome (cf. Herodian, i. 12. 1–2: Commodus, for more security, withdrew to Laurentum).

32. Pertinax inaugurates the celebration of 'vota x suscepta' immediately on accession, which was to be dominant for a good part of the next century. The 'vota dec. ann. susc.' of Commodus for A.D. 181 (15) were, to this extent, different, that they looked back to 'vota v soluta' from his first 'imperium'.

There accession vows were presumably taken, on this occasion, on 3 January, 'votis'—the day of the regular annual vows—the very day on which the praetorians tried to make Triarius Maternus Lascivius emperor (S.H.A. *Pertinax*, vi. 41. Cf. Henzen, op. cit., pp. 105–6).

33. There are no vows of Septimius on his accession—probably because he was forced to leave Rome in haste to fight Pescennius Niger.

The 'vota publica' of A.D. 196–7 belong to the short period in which Septimius, returning from the East, visited Rome, prior to taking the field against Albinus in Gaul. They lie outside the ordinary numbered series and were presumably 'vota suscepta pro salute et reditu et victoria Augusti': that they were 'suscepta', not 'soluta', is shown by the absence of the victim from the sacrifice.

34. The 'vota decennalia', undertaken at this point, should be those for the accession of Caracalla as Augustus; they might also be 'vota v sol. susc. x' for Septimius himself. These 'decennalia' were celebrated only at the Eastern mint of Septimius (Laodicea). Whether the 'vota publica'—possibly of the Roman mint—are the same or different must be left undecided. Perhaps it is more probable that they were vows undertaken for the whole imperial family when news of the victories of Septimius and the promotion of his two sons, Caracalla to be Augustus, Geta to be Caesar, was reported.

35. The two colleagues, Septimius and Caracalla, celebrated their vows together. It is clear that the 'vota sol. x susc. xx' belong to Septimius, the 'vota susc. x' to Caracalla. There is no mention of 'vota sol. v'.

This occasion, coinciding with the return of the Emperor from the East, was attended by magnificent largesses and displays, cf. Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 1. 1: 'ὁ δὲ Σεουήρος ἀπὸ τῆς δεκετηρίδος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήσατο τῷ τε ὁμίλῳ παντὶ τῷ σιτοδοτουμένῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς δορυφόροις ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἔτεσι χρυσοῦς. At the same time, the marriage of Caracalla to Plautilla was celebrated.

36. These 'vota publica' of Geta seem to correspond to the numbered vows of his father and brother. They could be regarded as 'vota (sol. v) dec. x' reckoned from his appointment as Caesar in A.D. 198, but it does not seem yet to have been the normal custom to reckon from the Caesarship. Note that the vows in (a) are 'soluta', those in (b) and (c) 'suscepta'.
  37. These 'vota publica', in the name of Septimius and both his sons, should be 'vota suscepta pro salute et reditu Augg. et Caes.' on their departure on the British expedition. The date will be A.D. 207, by which time Caracalla, at least, seems to have been in Britain (cf. *C.A.H.* xii. 38 and n. 5). I may have been too ready, in *B.M.C.* v, to doubt the vows of Septimius and Caracalla (nos. a and b).
  38. Normal 'vota sol. x susc. xx' of Caracalla, celebrated in his absence from Rome. According to later use, Septimius would have celebrated his 'vota xv', but attention was still only paid to the 'quinquennium' at intervals. The vows would normally begin in A.D. 207, but there is no record on the coins before A.D. 208.
  39. 'Vota publica' of Caracalla and Geta, but not Septimius, 'soluta', not 'suscepta', must be the vows undertaken in A.D. 207 (no. 25), now paid on the return of the two young Emperors to Rome.
  40. The 'vota susc. x' of Geta are not earlier than A.D. 210 (note the **BRIT** in his title on obv.) and cannot, therefore, date from his 'dies imperii', late in A.D. 209. It is probable, then, that they are for his accession as joint Emperor after the death of Septimius. I have queried this issue in *B.M.C.*—perhaps without sufficient cause.
- Caracalla and Geta do not inaugurate a new series of vows together, and we may perhaps guess why. They were on the worst possible terms, and, if vows had been undertaken for them together, the question of the numbers would have brought up the very sore point of the seniority of Caracalla and the (in his view) inadequate recognition of it in the equal reign of Geta. In the case of the largesse given by the two, stress was laid on its being 'vi' for Caracalla and only 'v' for Geta (cf. *B.M.C.* v. 407, no. 233, Pl. 60.4).
41. The celebration of the 'vota xx' of Caracalla is closely linked to his 'Parthian Victory'. As Caracalla had become 'imperator' early in A.D. 198 and was assassinated on 18 April A.D. 217, the payment of vows had just become due, with the close of the nineteenth year of his reign.
  42. This remarkable set of 'vota publica' obviously corresponds to the normal 'vota decennalia suscepta'. But the variety of reverse types, associated with the 'vota publica' formula, enables the vows to be much more clearly defined than by the usual plain types of sacrifice or legend in wreath. The vows are undertaken primarily to Juppiter Optimus Maximus, but the 'Virtues', Felicitas, Fides, Salus, and Securitas, are all closely associated with him. We might think of some such formula as 'vota suscepta Iovi Optimo Maximo pro felicitate et fide et salute et securitate

Augusti'. They are recorded at Rome, but not at Antioch. Cf. for the recipients of 'vota', Henzen, *op. cit.*, quoted in n. 1.

43. The 'vota publica' of Elagabalus are only recorded at an Eastern mint. As the date is near the beginning of the reign, they are, essentially, vows taken at accession. It is possible that some special circumstances, connected with the mint-city of the coins, were involved; but that city is not known. For 'decennalia' of Elagabalus, cf. Henzen, *op. cit.*, p. ccvii, 14 July, A.D. 218.
44. The celebration of these 'vota sol. x susc. xx' of Severus Alexander certainly falls in his ninth tribunician year, A.D. 230. In ordinary usage, it would be delayed till the beginning of the tenth year, which, with the count 'a die in diem', beginning with the 'dies imperii, 11 March, A.D. 222, was not really due until 11 March, A.D. 231. It was probably because Severus Alexander was called East to deal with the menace of barbarian invasion, that the vows were pushed on before their due time in order to send the Emperor on his way with the promise of victory, valiant achievement, and safe return.
45. With Maximin I begins an uninterrupted series of 'vota decennalia', undertaken at accession, that lasts down to the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus, and is only lost in the confusions that followed the defeat and captivity of the former Emperor.
46. For 'decennalia' of Gordian III, cf. Henzen, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
47. There is nothing surprising in special 'vota decennalia' for the young Philip as Augustus; but the coin evidence is not strong and confirmation is to be desired (but see 48 below).
48. The appearance of the VOTIS DECENNALIBVS S C on sestertii with the obverses IMP CAES C MESS Q DECIO TRAI AVG or TRAI Q DECIO AVG—not with obverse, IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG—seem to mark that last obverse as the latest on *Aes*.
49. Herennius Etruscus certainly has his own 'vota decennalia' as Augustus. It is probable, then, that Philip II also had his (see 46 above).
50. These 'vota decennalia', in any case falling very close together in time, have been placed here under one number, but they may represent three distinct occasions: (a) Trebonianus Gallus recognized as Augustus—end of June, A.D. 201; (b) Hostilian raised from Caesar to Augustus—a few weeks later; (c) Volusian raised from Caesar to Augustus on death of Hostilian—before the end of August.

The 'vota decennalia' of Volusian Caesar are probably the vows of his father.

Hostilian, it will be seen, had no vows recorded for him as Caesar, nor had Herennius Etruscus, his elder brother.

The reverse of the sestertius of Hostilian, QVINTO FELIX S C, Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre (M.S. iv. 3, p. 150, no. 222, Pl. 12. 20), seems to echo the language of the vows: 'May the peace (between the new Emperor, Trebonianus Gallus, and the old dynasty) be happy for Quintus' (Hostilian).

51. At Rome we have the normal 'vota decennalia' at accession for both Valerian I and Gallienus. As Valerian I was recognized as Emperor a short time before he made Gallienus his colleague, his vows may actually antedate those of his son by a little.

The 'vota orbis' of the two colleagues at an uncertain Eastern mint



(not Antioch) probably refer to the same occasion. The shield, marked S C, affixed by the two Victories to the palm, definitely points to the capital. But the Persian menace was demanding the presence of an Emperor to deal with it, and the 'prayers of the world', on this occasion, will have been tinged with thoughts of the 'advent and victory of the Augustus'. Valerian may actually have taken the field by the end of A.D. 253 (cf. *C.A.H.* xii. 170).

The type of the two Victories will recur frequently at the vows. Where, as here, there are two Emperors, the two Victories might be taken to represent the two; but the type continues in use, as a convenient and picturesque one, even when this particular suitability is lacking.

52. As Gallienus became Augustus in August, A.D. 253, and as he will have reckoned his 'vota' 'a die in diem' from his first 'dies imperii', the 'vota sol. x susc. xx' were due to begin at the end of the ninth year, August, A.D. 262.

Both 'decennalia' and 'vicennalia' are quoted, without express mention of 'soluta' in the first case or 'suscepta' in the second. On one coin the two sets of vows are linked, VOT X ET XX; later, we should expect MVLT or FEL with the XX. The theme of 'Victoria Augusta', an eternal aspect of the Empire, is appropriately linked with the vows. Unusual and interesting is the special appeal to the 'Fides Praet.' (no. c)—the Genius of the reverse type seems to be a Genius Populi Romani—with a standard added to suggest that it is in a military aspect that he is here represented.

53. For Claudius II, as for Valerian I and Gallienus, 'vota orbis' represent 'vota decennalia', undertaken at accession; the type of the two Victories and shield is retained.

The province at all times shared in such demonstrations of loyalty as the 'vota' (cf. no. 12, end). It is significant of this period of many wars throughout the Empire and many new mints in the provinces, that definite reference to a world outside Rome appears.

54. Cf. *Num. Chron.*, 1919, Proceedings, p. 13: criticized in *Num. Chron.*, 1927, pp. 229 ff. The date—probably near the end of the reign, A.D. 274–5—would be correct.

But 'vota soluta v' is not yet a customary formula of the coins and it is perhaps more probable that the VSV should be related to the VSV or VSVAL that appears as 'exagia solidi', and describes the regular coins in use—the 'denarius communis'.

55. The formula, VOT X ET XX, had already been used by Gallienus (no. 43 above). Here, at the beginning of a reign, it is put to novel use. Vows are undertaken for ten years, but the vision is extended prophetically to the twenty that should follow. The flattery implied was perhaps almost too rich for the old Emperor at whom it was aimed. The type of Mars, Victory, and the Emperor clearly points to the old man's campaign against the Goths in Asia Minor.
56. The normal VOTA X undertaken immediately after succession. We note the emphasis on Victory in connexion with the vows in the type of the two Victories and captives and the more elaborate group of the Emperor receiving a Victory from the hand of a soldier.
57. As there is no normal way for Probus to have VOTA X SOLVTA in A.D. 280, the formula, VOTIS X ET XX FEL, might be understood as 'hurrah for the "decennalia" and "vicennalia"!', to which we now look

forward as the 'vota v' can be paid. But, if no. c is correctly reported, the 'vota x' were actually paid.

The heroic Probus (VIRTUS PROBI AVG) bears the vows as the blazon on his shield and they are thus linked to Virtus as also, here and so often, to Victory. The appearance of the vows on the shield on obverse also enables them to be linked to such grand slogans of the reign as 'The Harmony of the Troops', 'The Bliss of the Age', and Hercules (as type of Probus) 'The Bringer of Peace'.

58. Carus might have his own 'vota decennalia', beginning in the autumn of A.D. 282, but these that he shares with Carinus (Augustus) must be a little later—vows for the elder Emperor as he marches East and for the son whom he leaves to rule in the West.

59. These 'vota publica' are naturally to be associated with the accession of Numerian on the death of his father, Carus, about July, A.D. 283. As the reverse shows Carinus and Numerian together at sacrifice, and as the coin was struck at Siscia, a mint of Carinus, a companion piece of Carinus might have been expected. The vows might be 'vota decennalia' at Numerian's accession. Perhaps, as 'vota publica', not 'vota decennalia', they are better taken as vows 'pro salute et reditu'.

60. This is the first reference to 'quinguennalia' on coins that is quite explicit. Games ('quinguennales Postumi Aug') are held in honour of the event (no. c), and Victory records the 'vot. v (soluta)', the 'vot. x suscepta' (a, b), and the two together 'vx' (c).

I have retained the old description of the mint as Lugdunum. Elmer (*Die Münzprägung der gallischen Kaiser*, pp. 8 ff.) regards it as Cologne (Colonia Agrippinensium). That there is a continuous series of coins of Postumus in one style is generally admitted; the only question is whether the site of the mint was always Cologne, or whether, in the years before the rare signature of Cologne appears, it had been at Lugdunum. The question is still open.

Elmer (op. cit., pp. 34, 48) dates the issue correctly to A.D. 263. This is, of course, quite inconsistent with his wrong date of accession for Postumus, A.D. 260 (see n. 61).

61. On this occasion Victory records only the new vows, 'vota xx', not the old 'vot. x'. Cf. Elmer, op. cit., pp. 39, 54.

It may be noted that the date given for the accession of Postumus in *C.A.H.* xiv. 158—autumn, A.D. 260—is impossibly late. A reign, beginning then, could not reach its tenth year until autumn, A.D. 269. The revolt of Postumus certainly followed close on the captivity of Valerian I (late June, A.D. 260, according to *C.A.H.* xii. 172). But the date of Postumus is reasonably assured by his coins; the captivity of Valerian must be put back two years.

62. The unusual legend, 'vota Augusti', and the unusual reverses, Roma and Diana, and Sol and Diana, both suggest special circumstances for the vows. It might be, of course, that Victorinus took advantage of the normal occasion of the 'vota' to give expression to his special interest in the deities of his reverses. Cf. Elmer, op. cit., pp. 62, 68 (who dates all together towards the end of A.D. 269). I continue to describe the second mint (after Cologne) of Victorinus and Tetricus I as Lugdunum. Elmer's suggestion of Treviri is not finally proved.

63. These vows must fall very near the end of the reign of Tetricus I, when,

in anticipation of the attack of Aurelian, he made his young son his colleague, in promise of the victory, of which he himself had already despaired. All these coins are struck for the old and young Emperor conjointly (cf. Elmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 92).

The defeat and deposition of Tetricus was certainly not earlier than spring, A.D. 274. Victorinus was still on the throne in Gaul when Claudius died in January, A.D. 270; his legionary coins seem clearly to show his determination to play his part in the Empire, divided for the moment between Aurelian and Quintillus. He must have reigned, then, till about April, A.D. 270, at earliest. This gives time, but only just, for Tetricus to complete his five years vows. It is probable, for once, in view of the immediate crisis that threatened, that he anticipated them—i.e. celebrated them a little ahead of the normal time.

The difficulty becomes more acute if we take *C.A.H.*'s date for Postumus and are thus compelled to push the accession of Victorinus into A.D. 269 (*C.A.H.* xiv. 191, 192).

64. Carausius, consciously copying Postumus, it may be, definitely records his 'vota v soluta' together with his 'vota x suscepta'. The formula 'vot. v mult. xx' appears for the first time on coins. The 'vota v' are renewed and multiplied ('multa', 'multiplicata') as 'vota x'. They are associated with the Victory of Carausius, given to him by the goddess Roma, and to the peace with the Empire, which he claimed as his supreme achievement.

Carausius' reign probably began late in the year A.D. 286 and so his 'vota v' could be paid late in A.D. 290. As the reading of no. *a* is **PAX AVG**, not **AVGGG**, it is probable that the agreement with Diocletian and Maximian was already broken. It is possible, then, that the date of these vows might be a little later—in A.D. 291—implying a later date for Carausius' accession.

65. I have placed the 'vota' at this point because of the number **XX**. But the issues of the mint (**RSR**, most probably Rutupiae) seem all to be early, A.D. 286 (7) to 289, perhaps; and in no case could Carausius, by any normal use, record 'vota xx'. We have probably to think of an initial ebullience of enthusiasm at Rutupiae when the arrival of the new Emperor was expected, finding vent in public vows for his safety, carried forward in hopeful and prophetic anticipation to the 'vota xx', some day to be paid with increase ('mult'). The 'imp.' that follows 'multis xx' is very interesting. It stresses the immediate connexion that always exists between the 'vota' and the first acclamation of a new 'imperator' (cf. n. 25 above).

These types seem to have become familiar to the Saxon pirates who were among Carausius' supporters. At any rate, they supply a model for a well-defined class of Anglo-Saxon sceattas.

66. Diocletian became Augustus on the death of Numerian late in A.D. 284. It was not till the spring of A.D. 285 that he disposed of his enemy, Carinus, not till early in A.D. 286 that he took Maximian to be his colleague as Augustus. As the 'vota x' were undertaken by the two Emperors together, the date cannot be earlier than A.D. 286; the 'decennalia' are those of the joint reign. They cannot be 'vota sol. v susc. x', as there is no victim by the altar.

Mamertinus, *Paneg.* xi. 1. 1, writes of a speech that he had prepared for the 'quinquennalia' of Maximian. He says that he is not wasting it,

'sed eam reservo ut quinquennio rursus exacto decennialibus tuis dicam, quoniam quidem lustris omnibus praedicandis communis oratio est'. The speech was delivered at Milan, winter A.D. 289, for the 'geminus natalis' of Diocletian and Maximian, presumably for 20 November, the 'natalis imperii' of Diocletian which, through him, is attributed to Maximian also.

67. The 'vota suscepta x' of Diocletian and Maximian fell in A.D. 286. But, as Diocletian certainly celebrated his 'vota sol. xx' on 20 November, A.D. 303, his 'vota x mult. xx' must fall on the same day in A.D. 293. The close parallelism of the coinage of Diocletian and Maximian strongly suggests that Maximian celebrated the vows with his colleague, though his own vows were, properly, more than a year later.

A number of new formulae are now used—'vot. x fel.', 'hurrah for the decennalia!', 'primis x multis xx', 'for the first ten years, for the second ten with increase', 'votis x sic xx', 'as for the first ten years so for the second ten'.

Beside Victory, the two supreme patron gods of the Emperors, Jupiter and Hercules, are specially invoked on this auspicious occasion.

68. The 'vota decennalia' of the Caesars, Galerius and Constantius I, belong to the same year, but not to the same day as the 'vot. x mult. xx' of the Augusti. Their day was 1 March (see below, no. 72).

The celebration of vows of the Caesars is a new feature. The reason will certainly be that the Caesars of Diocletian's tetrarchy, though not bearing the 'praenomen' of 'imperator', must have had the powers of an 'imperator' in the section of the Empire committed to their charge.

69. By the ordinary count, the ninth year of the Caesars would end in A.D. 292 and their 'vota x' would become payable from 1 March.

There seems to be no need to assume that the 'vota x' of the Caesars were actually paid at the same time as the 'vota xx' of the Augusti.

70. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, 17, writes: 'hoc igitur scelere perpetrato, Diocletianus, cum iam felicitas ab eo recessisset, perrexit statim Romam, ut illic vicennialium diem celebraret, qui erat futurus ad duodecimum Kalendas Decembris; quibus sollemnibus celebratis, cum libertatem populi Romani ferre non poterat, impatiens et aeger animi prorupit ex urbe impendentibus Kalendis Ianuariis, quibus illi nonus consulatus deferabatur. tredecim dies tolerare non potuit, ut Romae potius quam Ravennae procederet consul.' The celebrations thus lasted a month—from 20 November to 19 December.

The formulae used are similar to those in no. 67. 'vota xx', 'vot. xx sic xxx', 'vot. xxx', 'xx Diocletian. Aug.', 'primi xx Iovi Augusti'—a nice touch of flattery, as if he might expect a second term. There is an unusual note in no. *g* of Maximian—the invitation to the Romans to rejoice—'Gaudete Romani'. Our no. *h* is probably a coin of Galerius, wrongly ascribed to Maximian. The reference to the new vows by themselves, 'vota xxx', not as 'multis' or in connexion with the 'vot. xx', seems to be new.

71. As it will be necessary to refer constantly in the fourth century to the special vows of Isis and the Egyptian deities, it will be well to summarize briefly at this point the main conclusions of Alföldi's masterly study.

In his 'Festival of Isis, &c.', Budapest, 1937 (*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, ser. ii, fasc. 7), Alföldi has given us a new and satisfying account of these vows. They were celebrated by coins of Emperors from Diocletian to

Gratian and, after that, by coins without Emperors' names, but with heads of Egyptian deities in their place, from Gratian to near the end of the fourth century. The reverses deal almost exclusively with Egyptian cults—in particular, with the cult of Isis and the yearly festival of 5 March, the *Πλοιαφέσια*, when the sea became open again to navigation after the winter storms. These coins were issued at Rome, at first, officially, later by Roman aristocrats as holiday presents to the people.

The only point in which I cannot follow Alföldi is in his assumption that these vows were detached from their proper date, 5 March, and blended with the annual vows of the New Year (3 January). Alföldi finds the fact that Jovian (27 June, A.D. 363–17 February, A.D. 364) has coins of this kind decisive. But they would surely be prepared in advance; and why should they be suppressed even when he was dead? Again, Alföldi points out that the Emperors, on the obverse, commonly wear consular garb and again takes this as marking the beginning of the year; but, again, the conclusion seems over-forced. But my main objection lies in the legend, 'vota publica', which is invariably present. Alföldi (p. 53) declares this to have been a common description of ordinary imperial vows in the fourth century. I think that we shall see later that such 'vota publica' were nearly always for special occasions.

72. The vows collected under this number are clearly those of the second tetrarchy and were presumably all celebrated together on the same occasion. The 'vota x Caess.' are simple and normal enough; they are the usual 'vota decennalia' undertaken on accession. The 'vota xx Augg' are rather different. Both Galerius and Constantius had undertaken their 'vota xx' as Caesars in A.D. 302–3. Now, some two years later, they carry on the same vows as Augusti.
73. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, xxxiii, tells how Galerius was in his eighteenth year of rule, when 'percussit eum Deus insanabili plaga'. After terrible sufferings, Galerius was moved to issue his Edict of Toleration; xxv: 'hoc edictum proponitur Nicomediae pridie Kalendas Maias, ipso octies et Maximino iterum consulibus.' A few days later Galerius died: 'idque cognitum Nicomediae . . . mensis eiusdem cum futura essent vicennalia kalendis Martius impendentibus' The 'vicennalia', then, were not due till the end of Galerius' nineteenth year, 1 March, A.D. 312, although preparations, involving heavy charges on his subjects, had been made long in advance.

The way in which the imperial 'vota' were treated will be apparent from a study of the list and notes:

- (1) The vows are always 'happy returns' of the birthday of Empire, the 'natalis imperii'.
- (2) In the early Empire it is the 'decennium' that is dominant, though some notice is taken of the 'quinquennium' as early as Augustus. But direct mention of the vows is, for a long time, very rare. It has still to be determined how far indirect references may be concealed under apparently colourless types.
- (3) From Trajan on, the vows begin to figure more prominently. The actual descriptions, 'decennalia', 'vicennalia', first appear under Antoninus Pius. Under Marcus and Commodus account is for the first time taken on coins of the end of the first 'quinquennium'.

- (4) The 'vota publica' of the early Empire seem to refer sometimes to numbered vows, sometimes to special occasions.
- (5) From Maximin I onwards we find a series of 'vota decennalia', undertaken at accession, that last down to Valerian I and Gallienus.
- (6) In the late third century 'vota' occasions are not common, but one or two new features occur—e.g. 'quinquennales' (ludi) for Postumus, 'vot. xx' when we expect 'vot. x' for Carausius.
- (7) Under Diocletian vows of the Caesars appear beside vows of the Augusti, and new formulae, such as 'primis x multis xx', are introduced. The first 'decennalia' are 'soluta', the second 'suscepta'—with increase.



SIR JOHN RHŶS MEMORIAL LECTURE FOR 1949

## THE BOOK OF THE ANCHORITE

By IDRIS FOSTER

Read 29 March 1950

IT is now twenty-five years since the *Sir John Rhŷs Inaugural Lecture* was delivered by Sir John Morris-Jones. On that occasion Morris-Jones said:

I imagine Rhŷs possessed the most extensive knowledge of Celtic matters of any man who ever lived. Everything had come under his notice: words, idioms, names, tales, beliefs, customs, tribes, races, monuments. . . .

An indication of the vast range of these scholarly interests is the diversity of the titles of the memorial lectures which have been given before the Academy during the past quarter of a century. Morris-Jones was undoubtedly the most distinguished of Rhŷs's pupils. 'In scolis auditor, discipulus, et conscolaris', wrote Matthew Paris of Sewal of York's relationship to St. Edmund,<sup>1</sup> and his words are not inappropriate to describe the association between Morris-Jones and Rhŷs. When the British Academy honoured me with an invitation to deliver this lecture today, I thought that I should take this opportunity of discussing a Jesus College manuscript which was first edited by John Morris-Jones and John Rhŷs. This work of collaboration, which is an excellent example of the way in which Rhŷs inspired scholarship in others, appeared in 1894 in the Mediaeval and Modern Series of *Anecdota Oxoniensia* under the title of *The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi, A.D. 1346* (*Jesus College MS. 119*).

The manuscript, which is 'a small vellum quarto' now consisting of 144 leaves<sup>2</sup> written in the fourteenth century, was given to Jesus College by the Rev. Thomas Wilkins of Llan-fair

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. Maj.* (Rolls Series), v. 691.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has been carefully described by Morris-Jones in his introduction, pp. i-xviii (see also *Report on MSS. in the Welsh language*, ii. 30-1). The following details are added to complete the description.

The collation is as follows (the last folio of each gathering or group of gatherings being noted): i<sup>4</sup> (f. 4); ii-ix<sup>8</sup> (f. 68); x<sup>6</sup> (f. 77); xi<sup>8</sup> (f. 85); xii<sup>7</sup> (f. 92); xiii<sup>8</sup> (f. 100); xiv<sup>10</sup> (f. 110); xv-xviii<sup>8</sup> (f. 142); xix<sup>2</sup> (f. 144). The text



in the Vale of Glamorgan. Two other manuscripts from the same collection were donated at the same time: Jesus College MS. 29, which contains an important version of *The Owl and the Nightingale*, and Jesus College MS. 27, written in the fifteenth century, and consisting, according to Coxe, of the 'Liber qui dicitur oculus sacerdotis, auctore Gulielmo de Pagula'. The donor's inscription is identical in the three manuscripts, but it is not clear when they were presented. The manuscripts are entered in Bernard's catalogue of 1697 and were therefore in Jesus College before the elder Wilkins's death in 1698.<sup>1</sup> In 1781 Jesus MS. 119 was among the books of Griffith Roberts, the Dolgellau surgeon, who was a well-known collector.<sup>2</sup> A brief note on f. iia suggests that Roberts had received it from Richard Thomas, a genealogist and antiquary who died at the age of 27 in 1780.<sup>3</sup> Thomas, who came from the parish of Ynyscynhaearn

breaks off at p. 143v. The leaves have been cut in binding; present measurements vary from 164 × 123 mm. (145 × 96) to 174 × 125 (154 × 93). There are 25 lines to the page in single columns, except in gatherings xviii–xix where there are 24 lines.

I am indebted to my pupil Mr. R. Geraint Gruffydd for his assistance over the measurements.

<sup>1</sup> The entries in Bernard's *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti cum indice alphabetico*, I, pt. viii. 67 show quite conclusively that the three MSS. were in the college some time before the younger Wilkins presented the 'Red Book of Hergest' (Jesus Coll. MS. 111) in 1701. G. J. Williams, *Traddodiad llenyddol Morgannwg*, 164, suggests that Jesus Coll. MSS. 111, 119, and possibly 20 ('Llyfr Llywelyn Offeiriad') were donated together; but this was not so. C. L. Wrenn, 'Curiosities in a medieval manuscript', *Essays and Studies*, xxv (1939), 101–15, thinks that MSS. 29, 111, and 119 were all three presented by the younger Wilkins in 1701. A note on f. iia gives the information that the book was 'new bound for me, Tho. Wilkins', in 1684; the gift to Jesus College was considerably later, I think. As for MS. 29, it is worth noting, perhaps, that the signatures of Morgan Lewis of Llantrisant and Thomas Carne give a clue to the way in which the MS. reached Wilkins. The former was doubtless a member of the important Lewis of Fan family; the latter belonged to the Carne of Nash family; these families became connected by marriage early in the seventeenth century (see G. T. Clark, *Limbus patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae*, 57, 375). The Rev. Thomas Wilkins married Jane, daughter of Thomas Carne of Nash (*yr As Fach*). His second son, Roger, married Elizabeth Lewis of the Llanishen branch of the Fan family.

I am grateful to Miss Betty Hill, of Westfield College, University of London, who is preparing an edition of the *Poema Morale* (a copy of which is included among the contents of Jesus Coll. MS. 29) for drawing my attention to the entries in Bernard's catalogue.

<sup>2</sup> See *Handlist of manuscripts in the National Library of Wales*, pt. I, xi–xiv.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Griffith, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, 359.

in the county of Caernarvon, entered Jesus College as a servitor in November 1771; he became a scholar of the college in 1774 and took his B.A. in 1775.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear how the manuscript came into the possession of Richard Thomas, but one can note that he was under-librarian towards the end of his stay in college. In 1800 Owen Jones (Owain Myvyr) and William Owen (-Pughe) bought the 'book' from Griffith Roberts; by 1806 they had discovered, after carefully reading the Latin dedication by Thomas Wilkins, that the manuscript really belonged to Jesus College and, to quote the words of a Welsh memorandum in Pughe's hand, 'they could do no less than restore it to its rightful owner'.<sup>2</sup>

The date of the manuscript is established by a note appended to the translation of the preface to the 'Elucidarium'. This says that:

Gruffud ap ll(ywelyn) ap phylip ap trahayarnn. o kant(r)ef mawr aberis yscriuennv ylluyr hwnn. o law ketymdeith idaw. nyt amgen. gwr ryoed agkyr yr amsser hwnnw yn llandewyureui. yrei y meddyanho duw yheneideu yny drugared. Amen.

anno d(omi)ni mCCC. Quadrages(im)e Sexto. (f. 4<sup>v</sup>)

(Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn of Cantref Mawr caused this book to be written by the hand of a friend, namely a man who was an anchorite at that time at Llanddewifrefi: whose souls may God hold in His mercy. Amen.)

A table on f. 3<sup>v</sup> gives the names of the *ystoryaeu* in the book; there are seventeen of them, beginning with 'Hystoria Lucidar' and ending with 'Hystoria o uuched beuno ae wyrtheu'. The word *ystorya* (pl. *ystoryaeu*) is a late borrowing from Latin *historia*, which had earlier developed in Welsh in the form *ystyr*. In these tracts the meaning is somewhat more extended than the one usually given to a 'légende liturgique'; it can best be defined in the words of *Chwedlau Odo*: '. . . llawer o'r myneich, a'r ysgolheigyon, a'r lleygyon, pan darlleont, neu pan glywont darllein *buchedeu saint, neu ffrwythlaw'n ystoryaeu ereill clotuorws*. . . .' The texts in the manuscript do not follow the order given in this table, and indeed two have been omitted—namely 'pwyll y pater o dull saint austin' (a version of the well-known divisions

<sup>1</sup> Foster, *Alumn. Oxon.* (1715-1880), 1407.

<sup>2</sup> According to a note on f. 137<sup>r</sup> 'Hugh Maurice | Copied this MS. | in London 1806 | for Mr Owen Jones'; another note in the margin of f. 80<sup>r</sup> in Maurice's hand, gives the date '19 April 1806'. Hugh Maurice (? 1775-1825) was a nephew of Owen Jones; see E. D. Jones, 'Hugh Maurice, a forgotten scribe', *NLW. Journal*, i. 230-2.

of the *Paternoster* ascribed to St. Augustine)<sup>1</sup> and the 'hystorya o dullyeu yr ebestyl yn wahanredawl yn y credo' (an exposition of the articles of the Apostles' Creed); versions of these two texts are to be found, however, in the thirteenth-century portion of Peniarth MS. 16.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, a version of the 'Epistle of Jesus', which is not mentioned in the table of contents, has been included among the tracts.

As editor, John Morris-Jones confined his attention to points of palaeographical and grammatical interest, although John Rhŷs saw that 'beside the lexicographic interest of the texts now printed for the first time,<sup>3</sup> there is the wider interest which the historian feels, who wishes to ascertain the nature of the religious teaching of the Church in Wales in the Middle Ages. Here, then, we have pretty fair samples of the theological pabulum of the Welsh in the fourteenth century'.<sup>4</sup> It is not my purpose to consider in detail all the tracts in this manuscript, nor do I propose to concern myself today primarily with matters of linguistic importance. My aim is not so much to make a careful analysis of the volume's contents, a task which has been admirably begun by Mr. Thomas Jones,<sup>5</sup> as to pursue Rhŷs's suggestion about the Welsh background of the manuscript and its texts.

The first text, *Hystoria Lucidar* (ff. 5<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>v</sup>),<sup>6</sup> is a translation of one of those 'non spernenda opuscula' of Honorius Augustodunensis, the *Elucidarium sive dialogus de summa totius christianae theologiae*—a work in dialogue form in three books written early in the twelfth century.<sup>7</sup> 'Presbyter et scholasticus', that is how

<sup>1</sup> For the Latin, see Migne, *PL.* xxxiv. 1275–86.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the latter text, from the lost 'Llyfr Gwyn o Hergest' occurs in Panton MS. 21 (*Rep. Welsh MSS.* ii. 829).

<sup>3</sup> But as Zimmer, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1895, 47–68, and Stern, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, iii. 44–45, were quick to point out, not all the texts were now being printed for the first time. Robert Williams, in the second volume of *Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, London, 1892 (with the translation continued by G. Hartwell Jones) had already published twelve of these texts from later MSS.—the *Transitus Mariae* and the lives of St. David and St. Beuno being excluded. The German critics, however, in their righteous eagerness to praise the editorial work of Robert Williams, did not, in my opinion, give due regard to what I hope to show is the significant unity of the contents of the Book of the Anchorite. A critical notice of the Morris-Jones and Rhŷs edition by d'Arbois de Jubainville appeared in *Revue Celtique*, xvi. 247–52.

<sup>4</sup> *Elucidarium*, vi.

<sup>5</sup> 'The book of the anchorite of Llanddewi Brefi (Llyvyr Agkyr Llanddewivrevi)', *Trans. Card. Antiq. Soc.*, xii. 63–82.

<sup>6</sup> See also *Heng. MSS.*, ii. 349–429.

<sup>7</sup> *PL.* clxxii. 1110–76.

Honorius called himself; in most of the manuscripts, however, he is described as 'inclusus' or 'solitarius', and in his preface to this work the author hides himself in anonymity. The *Hystoria Lucidar* does not give the three Latin books in their entirety. The first deals with God and the Creation until the redemption of the world by Christ. The second, with its key-note in 'Beth yw ryd ewylls' (*Quid est liberum arbitrium?*), is concerned with a variety of questions relating to sin and its manifestations. 'Its major significance for the modern student', according to a recent writer, 'lies in [the] discussion of contemporary problems.'<sup>1</sup> The material of the third section is eschatological. Let me quote an example from the Welsh translation of the second book:

*Beth am y marchogyon ar kedeyrnn.*  
ychydic o da. kannys odreis yd  
ymborthant. ac yd ymwiscant. ac  
yprynnant y swydeu. ar tir. ar deil-  
adeu. ac amyrreri ydywedir. eu dyd-  
yeu adiffygyawd ygorwaged. ac am  
hynny ymae arnunt bar duw. *Pa*  
*obeith yssyd yr gler.* nyt oes yr vn.  
kannys oe holl ynni ymaent y(n)-  
gwassanaethu ydiawl. amyrei hynny  
y dywedir. nyt adnabuant wy duw.<sup>2</sup>  
ac wrth hynny. duw ae tremygawd.  
aduw awatwar amdanadunt. kannys  
awatwaro. ef awettwerir. *Pa obeith*  
*yssyd yr porthmyn.* ychydic. kannys  
odwyll. ac annudonev. ac vsur. ac  
ockyr ykeissynt pob peth hayach oe  
kynnull. . . . (f. 37<sup>r</sup>)

*Quid sentis de militibus?*  
Pauci boni: de praeda enim  
vivunt, de rapina se vestiunt,  
inde possessiones emunt, et ex-  
inde beneficia redimunt; de his  
dicitur: Defecerunt in vanitate  
dies eorum, et anni eorum cum  
festinatione; ideo ira Dei ascen-  
dit super eos. Habent spem jocu-  
latores? Nullam: tota namque  
intentione sunt ministri Satanae,  
de his dicitur: Deum non cogno-  
verunt; ideo Deus sprexit eos,  
et Dominus subsannabit eos,  
quia derisores deridentur. Quam  
spem habent mercatores? Par-  
vam: nam fraudibus, perjuriis,  
lucris omne pene quod habent  
acquirunt. . . . (PL. clxxii. 1148.)

There is no attempt to imitate the rhymed prose of the original, but the Welsh version has considerable vigour of its own.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eva Matthews Sanford, 'Honorius, *Presbyter* and *Scholasticus*', *Speculum*, xxiii. 405. The bibliographical references in this article are valuable.

<sup>2</sup> There is a contrast to this attitude in Thomas of Chabham's manual, c. 1240, which makes an exception of 'ioculars qui cantant gesta principum et vitas sanctorum' (Queen's Coll. Oxon. MS. 362, f. 49); see Helen F. Rubel, 'Chabham's *Penitential* and its influence on the thirteenth century', *PMLA*. xl. 233. Cf. also *Elucid.*, 98 with its reference to the 'pry-dydyon' who abuse the divine gift by praising worldly and transient things.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys, *Eluc.* v, was not quite certain whether the text of the *Elucidarium* used by the Welsh translator might not have been French rather than Latin. Stern is probably correct in his view that the Welsh text is derived from

The *Elucidarium* is doubtless an *œuvre de jeunesse* and an *œuvre de vulgarisation*;<sup>1</sup> nevertheless it was a popular work and there are at least fifty manuscripts of the Latin text apart from the translations into many vernacular languages. Moreover, 'though it seems to have had less influence on theological studies than on popular literature, it is often combined with other theological works in the manuscripts'.<sup>2</sup> Even more popular than the *Elucidarium* was Honorius's *Imago Mundi* in three books, and a Welsh version of the first book is extant in four separate fragments, the earliest of which is found in Peniarth MS. 17, a manuscript of the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The other 'dialogue' or catechistical text is *Hystoria Adrian ac Ipotis* (ff. 111<sup>r</sup>-119<sup>r</sup>)<sup>4</sup>, a form of the 'Wise Child' legend based on the popular Latin dialogues *Adrian et Epictetus* and *Disputatio Adriani Augusti et Epicteti Philosophi*.<sup>5</sup> Here again theology and doctrine are expounded by question and answer.

*Hystoria y traethu val yd aeth Meir y nef* (ff. 69<sup>v</sup>-77<sup>r</sup>), the Welsh form of *Transitus Mariae*, belongs to the pseudo-Melito or Tischendorf's B group.<sup>6</sup> *Breudwyf Pawl Ebostol* (ff. 129<sup>r</sup>-132<sup>v</sup>)<sup>7</sup> as it occurs in our manuscript represents redaction IV of *Visio*

Latin (op. cit., 44) and he quotes, for example, 21. 10 'ar vor Tyberiadis' (= *ad mare Tiberiadis*). There are, however, some interesting French and English loan-words in the vocabulary: e.g. 10. 30 'lleu a chwein a phunes' (= *culices, muscae et ciniphes*); *Heng. MSS.*, ii. 358 gives 'lhau a chwain a cyniphes, sef ydynt y Titieit'. *Punes* is from Fr. *punaïse*, a word which is first attested in the thirteenth century (Bloch and Wartburg, *Dict. étymol. de la langue française*, 494). Again, 44. 15 'o diglist a phridgist' (= *de latere et bitumine*); *tiglist* = 'tiles'—see Stratmann, *M.E. dict.*, on *tizele*, *tezele*, and T. H. Parry-Williams, *English element in Welsh*, 43.

<sup>1</sup> J. de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique du xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 119.

<sup>2</sup> Sandford, op. cit. 406-7 and n. 49; see further Ch.-V. Langlois, *La vie spirituelle*, ix-x; Max Förster, *Furnivall Miscellany*, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Henry Lewis, *Delw y byd (Imago Mundi)*, Cardiff, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 335-46.

<sup>5</sup> See W. Suchier, *L'enfant sage (das Gespräch des Kaisers Hadrian mit dem klugen Kinde Epitus)* (Gesell. f. rom. Lit., Bd. 24).

<sup>6</sup> C. Tischendorf, *Apocalypses apocryphae*, 113-23 (A), 124-36 (B); M. R. James, *The apocryphal New Testament*, 209-16. For a detailed study of the textual problems see M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge: étude historico-doctrinale (Studi e Testi, 114)*. St. J. D. Seymour discusses Irish versions in *JTS*. xxiii. 36 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 284-9. There is a full discussion in Theodore Silverstein, *Visio Sancti Pauli, the history of the apocalypse in Latin, together with nine texts*; see further H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of romances*, ii. 397 and St. J. D. Seymour, *Irish visions of the other-world*. T. H. Parry-Williams has published the Welsh version of Redaction I in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, iii. 87-89.

*Sancti Pauli*: this was the most popular of the recensions in the Middle Ages. An incomplete portion in Peniarth MS. 32, of the middle of the fifteenth century, derived from a thirteenth-century exemplar, is in all probability based on Redaction I.

*Hystoria Gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit* (ff. 137<sup>v</sup>–143<sup>v</sup>)<sup>1</sup> is not a didactic work. It is an incomplete version of the uninterpolated *Epistola Presbyteri Joannis*. This forged letter, originally written in either Greek or Latin, from king Prester John in central Asia to the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus, was circulating widely between 1165 and 1177. It is a highly coloured account of the wonders of Prester John's kingdom, and the Welsh translator has entered into the spirit of the work. Here and there, however, the catalogue of strange things and marvels has bewildered him and he is content with giving the Latin names as they stand.

There are two lives of saints, namely those of David (ff. 93<sup>r</sup>–103<sup>v</sup>) and of Beuno (ff. 104<sup>r</sup>–110<sup>r</sup>). The former is an abridgement of Rhygyfarch's eleventh-century *Vita Sancti David*; the life of Beuno, too, is an 'abbreviated translation, paraphrase, or both of a lost Latin life of the saint'.<sup>2</sup> Then there is a group of tracts which relate specifically to the creeds and articles of the Church.

- (i) (a) *The Quicunque vult*: 'Pwy bynnac avynnho iachau y eneit ae gorff'. This is a straightforward translation with small omissions and occasional explanatory sentences. It is worth noting that the 'descendit ad inferna' clause is rendered 'ac odyno anreithaw uffern'. (ff. 119<sup>r</sup>11–121<sup>r</sup>4)<sup>3</sup>
- (b) 'Dangos pywed ydyellir ytat ar mab aryspryt glan vn duw.' ('How the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost are understood to be one God'). (ff. 136<sup>r</sup>19–137<sup>r</sup>17)<sup>4</sup>
- (ii) 'Ynymod hwnn ydysgir ydyn py delw ydyly credv yduw' ('In this way is a man taught how he should believe in God'). This consists of (a) a free variation of the basic credal formulae. Here again we have 'adisgynn y eneit yanreithaw vffernn or ethol-edygyon aoeddynt yndi'; (b) a brief account of the nature of love; (c) the Ten Commandments with a commentary; (d) the

<sup>1</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 327–35. For general information see F. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes* (*Abh. d. k. sächsischen Ges. d. Wiss.*, vii); J. M. Pou y Marti, 'La leyenda del Preste Juan . . .', *Antonianum*, xx. 65–96; L. Olschi, 'Der Brief des Presbyters Johannes', *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxliv. 1–4; Robin Flower, *Cat. Ir. MSS.* 543.

<sup>2</sup> A. W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae sanctorum Britanniae et genealogiae*, xix. The Latin life of St. David is printed on pp. 150–70.

<sup>3</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 346–8; see also Henry Lewis, 'Credo Athanasius', *BBCS.* v. 193 ff. for a different version from Peniarth MS. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 299.25–300.

seven mortal sins; (e) the seven sacraments; (f) the seven deeds of mercy. (ff. 121<sup>r</sup>5-125<sup>r</sup>16)<sup>1</sup>

- (iii) (a) The five blessings of hearing Mass and (b) the seven blessings of being present at Mass.<sup>2</sup> Four *englynion* follow at the end of this short text: they begin with

‘Oth ogyvarch(af) dyssul. oth ovynhaf ar dy vul  
Py wnaſ am offeren sul. . . .

They, too, stress the importance of attending Mass, but they do not rightly belong to the text, for they are, as Sir Ifor Williams has demonstrated, fragments of a metrical conversation in which St. Tysul figures; the linguistic evidence points to a manuscript source not later than the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

- (iv) ‘Pwyll y Pader o dull Hu Sant’. (ff. 125<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>r</sup>)<sup>4</sup>

This tract has been described as ‘partly a translation and partly a free adaptation’<sup>5</sup> of parts of the first four chapters of *De quinque septenis seu septenariis opusculum* usually ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor. At a first glance, the Welsh text certainly shows close affinity with this work. I do not think, however, that it is directly derived from *De quinque septenis*. Its source, in my opinion, is the section beginning ‘Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti . . .’ in cap. vii, ‘De celebratione missae’ of the *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae* of the pseudo-Hugh.<sup>6</sup> That this section of the *Speculum* owes much both to *De quinque septenis* and to a passage from Hugh’s *De Sacramentis* II. xiii<sup>7</sup> is immediately apparent. Yet the Welsh version is not directly derived from them.<sup>8</sup> Its opening words, ‘Hu sant o seint victor ym paris a dywet o wedi y pader val hynn’ are reminiscent of the formulae which are found, for example, in Langton’s works: ‘Magister Hugo de Sancto Victore dicebat’, ‘Andreas sancti Victoris magistrum

<sup>1</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 237-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 295-6.

<sup>3</sup> *BBCS.* ii. 279.

<sup>4</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 291-5.

<sup>5</sup> Saunders Lewis, ‘Pwyll y Pader o ddull Hu Sant’, *BBCS.* ii. 286-9. The *De quinque septenis* has been published in *PL.* clxxv. 405-10. According to Zimmer, *op. cit.* 54, the Welsh tract is based on Hugh’s *Alleg. in Novum Test.* Lib. ii, cap. iii-xiv—‘Sequitur altera orationis dominicae expositio aliunde huc apposita’; see *PL.* clxxv. 774-89.

<sup>6</sup> *PL.* clxxvii. 371-3. J. de Ghellinck, *L’essor de la littérature latine au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, i, 155n., assigns the *Speculum* to ‘pseudo-Hugues de Saint-Victor’.

<sup>7</sup> *PL.* clxxvi. 525.

<sup>8</sup> An early fourteenth-century MS. in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (MS. 3417) contains the *Elucidarium* (f. 13), three chapters of an anonymous treatise on the *Paternoster* (f. 41) and the *Speculum ecclesiae* (f. 44); see Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, i. 208-13. Langlois, *op. cit.*, 134, remarks that the ‘correspondances septénaires [in *Somme le Roi*] dérivent, sans doute à travers plusieurs intermédiaires, du traité *De quinque septenis* attribué à Hugues de Saint Victor’.

Hugonem secutus dicit'.<sup>1</sup> The similarity between the opening passages of the *Speculum* and the 'dull' is so clear that it is unnecessary to regard the Welsh as an 'adaptation and commentary'.

Gann ymdirect ygallwn wediaw megys meibon. yrei ytat. yrrei y dysgwys ef wediaw val hynn vdunt. Pater noster qui es in celis. Sef yw pwyll hynny. yn tat ni yrhwnn y syd ynynefoed. seith arch ysyd yny pater megys y dywetpwynt vchot. yny obrynhom nynhev caffel trwy yrei hynny seith do(n)nyeu yr yspryt glan. Athrwy yseith donnyev hy(n)-ny. seith nerthoed yr eneit val ygal-lom nynhev trwy yseith nerthoed hynny. yn ryd mynet ywrth yseith pechawt marwawl. adyuot aryseith gwynvyuedigrwyd. Seithryw pechawt marwawl ysyd. yrei ymaent achos adefnyd yrholl pechodeu ereill oll. Sef ynt yseith hynny. gogelent bawp racdunt. nyt amgen. Syberwyt. kyghorueint. Irrloneo. Tristit bydawl. nev lesged gwnneuthur da. nev waranda da. nev dyscu da. Pymhet pechawt marwawl yw. chwant. achebydyaeth. Whechet yw. glythineb ameddawt. Seithuet yw. godineb. Yrei ayspeilant dyn ogaryat duw aholl nerthoed duw. ac odonnyev yr yspryt glan. Ypedwarded ohonunt aboena yr yspeiledic. Ypymhet. avwrw yr yspeiledic yn grwydrat. Yhwechet a dwyll y crwyddrat gwrtholedic. Seithuet asathra ac adielwha y twylledic. Syberwyt adwc duw ygann dyn. kyghorueint adwc ygyfnessaf ygantaw. Irrloneo adwc dyn racdaw ehun. kanys amlwc yw named irllawnn arnaw ehun. . . . (ff. 125<sup>r</sup>19-125<sup>v</sup>19).

Oraturus ergo monet orare docens quod fiducialiter orare possumus ut filii patrem, quod ipse Dominus ad orandum sic informavit, dicens: *Pater noster* (Matth. vi): Septem ergo petitiones in Dominica Oratione ponuntur, ut septem dona mereamur Spiritus sancti, quibus recipiamus septem virtutes, per quas a septem vitiis liberati ad septem perveniamus beatitudines. Septem enim sunt vitia principalia, quae sunt origo omnium malorum, scilicet superbia, invidia, ira, tristitia, avaritia, gula, luxuria; quorum tria exspoliant hominem, quantum exspoliatum flagellat, quantum flagellatum ejicit, sextum ejectum seducit, septimum seductum conculcat. Superbia enim aufert homini Deum, invidia proximum, ira seipsum. . . . (PL. clxxvii. 371.)

Mr. Saunders Lewis has rightly emphasized the great importance of this work, with its Welsh equivalents of the established

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Beryl Smalley, 'The School of St. Andrew of St. Victor', *Rech. de Théol. anc. et méd.* xi. 157.



terminology of medieval mystical theology: thus, 'ysbrydawl velyster' (*interior dulcedo*), 'knewdawl velyster' (*exterior voluptas*), 'llygat yr eneit' (*interiorem oculum*). In its vocabulary, and in that of the other tracts, we see how 'a language will develop when important new things are to be said'.<sup>1</sup>

The text beginning 'Llyma yr achos y deuth bar duw yn ych plith' or 'Ebostol y Sul' is the Welsh representative of the 'Epistle of Jesus' which reached Britain, according to Pribsch, in the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> The general setting of the scriptural passages, 'Rybud Gabriel at Veir' and the text and commentary of the *In Principio*<sup>3</sup>, has been carefully examined by Mr. Thomas Jones in his study of the 'Pre-reformation Welsh versions of the Scriptures',<sup>4</sup> and no further comment is needed here.

## II

There remains to be considered the work which is known as 'Kyssegrylan Vuched' or 'Ymborth yr Eneit' (ff. 78<sup>r</sup>–92<sup>r</sup>). In our manuscript it begins on f. 78<sup>r</sup> with the words 'Traether bellach am dwywawl garyat drwy yr hwnn y kyssylllder y krea-wdyr duw ae greadur dyn. . . .' On f. 80<sup>v</sup> there is the sentence 'ac velle e tervynna yr eilrann or llyvyr hwnn nyt amgen noc o dwywawl garyat'<sup>5</sup> ('and so ends the second part of this book, namely, of Divine Love'). According to the old foliation, the present f. 77 was lxxiii and f. 78, lxxx; it is therefore fair to assume that the missing leaves contained the first part of 'Kyssegrylan Vuched'. An examination of Peniarth MSS. 190 and 15, both of which belong to the first half of the fifteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> Beryl Smalley, *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 202.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Pribsch, *MLR*. ii. 138 and *Furnivall Miscellany*, 397; A. S. Napier, *ibid.* 355; W. Garmon Jones, 'A Welsh Sunday epistle', *Mackay Miscellany*, 243 ff.; Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings*, 76, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 296 and 297–99.24.

<sup>4</sup> *National Library of Wales Journal*, iv. 97–114. An independent translation of the Annunciation passage, or 'Llith o Veir' occurs in 'Gwasanaeth Mair', a version of the *Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis* in Shrewsbury School MS. 11 and Peniarth MS. 191, both belonging to the fifteenth century. The seventh verse of *In Principio* has been left out of the Book of the Anchorite text. In Peniarth MS. 5, the earliest extant version, the text precedes the commentary; there are indications that this version derives from a mid-twelfth-century copy and, as Mr. Thomas Jones rightly points out, 'all later versions seem to be derived, either directly or indirectly, from this text'. For the scriptural quotations throughout the Book of the Anchorite see *Seren Gomer*, January 1895, 18–19.

<sup>5</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 430–56; the parts preserved in the Book of the Anchorite are on pp. 437–56.

shows that the lacuna in Jesus Coll. MS. 119 would be filled with a systematized account of the seven deadly sins and their branches, followed by a shorter analysis of the seven virtues.<sup>1</sup> It can be assumed from f. 81<sup>r</sup> of our manuscript that the two other parts were formerly intact: 'Traether bellach amy tryded rann. . . .' ('Let it further be treated of the third part. . . .'). According to Peniarth MS. 190.167,

Y llyvyr hwnn yw y trydyd llyvyr or llyvyr aelwir kyssegyrlan vuched ac a elwir ymborth yr eneit. ac yndaw y mae teirran gwahan-redawl. Y rann gyntaf a draetha am y gwydyeu gocheladwy ar kampeu arveradwy. Yr eilrann a draetha am dwywawl garyat drwy yr hwnn y kysylltir duw a dyn. Y dryded rann a draetha am berlewycvaeu a delont or karyat hwnnw. ac am weledigaetheu a rodo yr yspryt glan yn y perlewycvaeu ac am nawrad yr englyon. . . .

(This book is the third book of the book which is called 'Kyssegyrlan Vuched', and it is called 'Ymborth yr Eneit', and in it there are three distinct parts. The first part treats of the vices to be shunned and the virtues to be practised. The second part treats of Divine Love through which God and man are joined together. The third part treats of the pleasant ecstasies which come from that Love, and of the visions which the Holy Spirit gives in the ecstasies, and of the nine grades of Angels. . . .)

This suggests that 'Ymborth yr Eneit', in three parts, is the third book of a larger work entitled 'Kyssegyrlan Vuched'. The second and third parts are preserved in the Book of the Anchorite.

Love—love of God, love for God and love for men—is the theme of the second part, and an Augustinian chord is struck at the start: 'Seint Awstin a dyweit val hynn beth yw caryat.' An unmistakable hint of translation appears in the passage which sets out to explain the nature of the Trinity:

Y teir person hynny . . . vn duw ynt . . . ac aelwir odirgeledic enw. Alpha et O. Sef yw hynny. .a. ac .o. dechreu adiwed. a llythyren teir coglawc yw. ac aarwydocka teir person ydrindawt. Yny gogyl vchaf ytat. yny gogyl issaf or tu deheu y mab . . . Yny gogyl arall issaf or tu assev yr yspryt glan. . . . (78<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>r</sup>)

(Those Three Persons . . . are one God . . . and are called by a mysterious name, Alpha et Omega, that is A and O, beginning and end. A is a triangular letter, and it signifies the Three Persons of the Trinity.

<sup>1</sup> The seven deadly sins are given as 'balchder' (*superbia*), 'angawrdeb' (*avaricia*), 'kyghorvynt' (*invidia*), 'aniweirdeb' (*luxuria*), 'glythineb' (*gula*), 'irlloned' (*ira*), 'llesged' (*accidia*), and the acrostic for them is 'bakagill' (f. 168). Opposed to each of them are the seven virtues; 'ufuddawt', 'hael-yoni', 'karyat', 'diweirdeb', 'kymedrolder', 'anmyned', 'ehutrwyd'. Their order has been changed to suit the acrostic 'kuchade' (f. 182). Dom Wilmart has an interesting note on the acrostics of the seven deadly sins in *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*, 430, n. 1.

In the top corner the Father, in the bottom corner on the right side, the Son . . . in the other bottom corner on the left side, the Holy Ghost. . . .)

There is a further embellishment of this geometric plan to indicate the position of the Church in the great scheme of Love. Stage by stage the theological argument is closely developed to its conclusion:

ac velle drwy yrannwylserch garyat hwnnw adel owrychyonn yr yspryt glan yr hwnnysyd annwylserch garyat ytat arymab. ar mab arytat. ykyssyllldir kreadur dyn a(e) greawdyr duw holl gyfuoethawc. (f. 81<sup>r</sup>)

(And so through that gentle and delightful love which emanates from the fiery sparks of the Holy Ghost, who is the gentle love of the Father towards the Son and of the Son towards the Father, the creature man is joined to his Creator, Almighty God.)

The design of the work emerges into clearer outline in the third part, and what is basically a manual of practical theology becomes a guide to mystical theology. The initial stages of the active life have been described in the first section with its emphasis on the exercise of the deeds of virtue. The theological assumptions have been expounded in the second part. Now there follow penance, contemplation, ecstasies, visions, and the final *amplexus*; but they are all based on the love of God: 'kanyys ygaryat ef yw ymborth yn eneideu ni' (f. 81<sup>v</sup>) 'megys ymae duw yn vywyt yreneit' (f. 92<sup>r</sup>) ('for His Love is the food of our souls . . . as God is the life of the soul').

The mystical experiences of a Dominican, 'nebun vrawt o grevyd brodyr y pregethwyr', become the frame for a vivid picture of the complete process which leads to the vision of God. The friar, after penance and continuous prayer, enters upon an ecstatic vision which reaches its climax in a glorious revelation of the Son of God as a child of twelve years. The account of his experiences is essentially similar to many which have been recorded in the *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*.<sup>1</sup> I quote a few examples to show that the Welsh text has a close affinity with them: 'Erat autem in conventu Romano quidam frater devotus, qui parumper obdormiens, cum fratres dicerent letaniam, visus est sibi videre super cooperturam altaris dominum Ihesum Christum sedentem . . .';<sup>2</sup> again, 'in territorio Avinionensi', after the Feast of Pentecost, another Dominican 'cumque hec in animo volveret, importune petens et nichil hesitans, ymnum *Veni Creator* inchoante cantore, vidit flammam magnam

<sup>1</sup> *Fratris Gerardi de Fracheto, O.P. Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum necnon cronica ordinis ab anno MCCIII usque ad MCCLIV*, ed., B. M. Reichert, O.P. (*Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica*, i). <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 45, cap. vi, § viii.

descendere desuperius. . . . Nam et per triduum in singulis completoriis hanc habuit visionem.’<sup>1</sup> a third, ‘cum genibus flexis . . . peteret veniam peccatorum, in quadam extasi videbat, quod accederet ad osculandos pedes pueri Jhesu, quem virgo in gremio tenebat, de quibus mirabilem dulcedinem comedebat ut favum mellis; et reditus sibi ruminabat et masticabat et quasi mellis dulcedinem senciebat in suis labiis.’<sup>2</sup>

A lengthy, highly coloured description of the child Christ follows, and it is manifestly an interpolation, but no established source has so far been discovered for it. Dr. Hartwell Jones stated that he had not seen it in any Latin text, and added that ‘it looks as if it has been elaborated in Celtic hands’.<sup>3</sup> This work calls for a study too detailed to be attempted in this lecture and I must confine myself to one or two general comments. The author or compiler of this description has made use of richly assorted materials, the nature of which he probably did not fully comprehend. And today one can only point to this or that passage and remark that it evokes the phraseology of medieval Latin scriptural commentaries, *sermones*, *soliloquia*, and *contemplationes*. Its scriptural basis is to be found both in Luc. ii. 42, ‘Et cum factus esset annorum duodecim . . .’ and in Ps. xlv, ‘Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum, diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis, propterea benedixit te deus in aeternum.’<sup>4</sup> An early thirteenth-century Latin poem has a simple elaboration on these combined themes; it is seen in the *Vita Beatae Virginis Mariae et Salvatoris rhythmica*,<sup>5</sup> lines 3124–351, immediately following the account of Christ’s visit to Jerusalem at the age of twelve. It begins ‘De pulchritudine corporis Jesu’ and proceeds to a systematic physical description of the youthful Christ.<sup>6</sup> Thus, line 3134,

Cutis sui corporis lactei coloris  
Fuit atque candidi lili candoris.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 60, cap. vii, § iv.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 214, cap. xxiv, § v; see also § xii where the *Liber de arte amoris Dei* is mentioned. There are accounts of other experiences on pp. 61, 62, 160, 319.

<sup>3</sup> *Heng. MSS.* ii. 759.

<sup>4</sup> The Welsh text is also reminiscent of *Cantic.* ii, ‘Ostende mihi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis; vox enim tua dulcis, et facies tua decora’.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. A. Vögtlin, Tübingen, 1888.

<sup>6</sup> The sub-titles are ‘De colore cutis corporis Jesu’, ‘de capillis’, ‘de oculis’, ‘de palpebris’, ‘de superciliis’, ‘de fronte’, ‘de naso’, ‘de genis et maxillis’, ‘de labiis’, ‘de dentibus’, ‘de lingua’, ‘de spiramine’, ‘de barba’, ‘de mento’, ‘de collo’, ‘de manibus’, ‘de digitis’, ‘de unguibus’, ‘de pedibus’, ‘de complexione’, ‘de natura’ (‘humores quattuor’), ‘de victu’, ‘de vestibus’. A comparison of this section with *Cursor Mundi*, 18817–59, is interesting, although Haenisch (EETS. i. 41\*) says that he was unable to find the source of the latter passage.

- Tamen aliquantulum ipsum per ardorem  
Sol decoloraverat maiorem ad decorem...
- 3158 Nigros fuit oculorum interior pupilla,  
Saphyrinus circulus quo cingebatur illa.  
Parum latus, atque lucens color ut iacinctus,  
A ceteris coloribus oculi distinctus.  
Albedo fuit oculorum lactei coloris,  
Omni carens carie magnique decoris. . . .
- 3190 Labia dulciflua modicum tuebant . . .
- 3196 Eius et albissimi fuerunt quoque dentes,  
Velut ebur candidum et sicut nix nitentes . . .
- 3218 Suavissimus anhelitus fuit eius oris  
Ac inestimabilis dulcis et odoris . . .
- 3256 Ungues erant limpide, clare, bene munde,  
Similes onychino, parum rubicunde . . .

It is likely that there is a relationship, at a very deep level, between the Welsh prose text and the Latin metrical description. Professor Thomas Parry has suggested that the heavily adorned style of the former is akin to that of the Welsh *araith*;<sup>1</sup> its cumulative rhetoric is indeed reminiscent of the *araith* manner. But it must be noted that much of the imagery in this particular example of Welsh religious prose becomes intelligible only when it is carefully placed within the context of earlier medieval Latin religious writing.<sup>2</sup> When the layers of colour have been removed, traces of earlier allegorical patterns and theological forms become visible; very faintly they show that they come from the world of Ailred's *Tractatus de Jesu puero duodenni*<sup>3</sup> and of Anselm's 'O dulcissime puer quando te videbo? quando ante faciem tuam apparebo? quando satiabor pulchritudine tua? videbo vultum tuum desiderabilem in quem desiderant Angeli prospicere.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hanes llenyddiaeth Gymraeg*, 78.

<sup>2</sup> It is sometimes wise to recall Suso's words: 'non sunt omnes (visiones) accipiendo secundum litteram' (*Horol.* Prol. 11-12). So, too, is it important to bear in mind the special significance of some of the words found in the Welsh text: e.g. *Eluc.* 95.15 'bisswn' (cf. Esther viii. 15, Ezech. xxvii. 16, Apoc. xix. 14, 18; also Hugh of St. Victor, *De tunica byssina*, *PL.* clxxvi. 433); 97. 18 'na mirr na gwtt na bam na sinam nac assia' (cf. Ps. xlv. 9 'myrrha et gutta et casia a vestimentis tuis'; Eccl. xxiv. 12, 'Sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans . . . et quasi myrrha electa . . . et quasi . . . gutta'; Eccl. xxiv. 20 is quoted in *Offic. B. Mariae, Myv. Arch.*<sup>2</sup> 376a); 93. 8, 'byrllysc or baem' (cf. 1 Mac. xiii. 37, 'Coronam auream et bahen quam misistis suscepimus')—for the variant forms *bahem*, *baen* (*Baiv*, *Baivryn*) see Souter, *Glossary of later Latin*.

<sup>3</sup> *PL.* clxxxiv. 849-70.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by St. Bonaventure in *Soliloquium* (Quaracchi, viii. 28-67).

The embellishments of the description, however, are courtly and elegantly *mondain*.<sup>1</sup> There are, for example, *krocket wedeid-luys* to describe the hair style (ME. *croket* 'lock of hair'); *ar dwy lawes or ysgarlat klaerwynnaf* (cf. ME. *scarlat* 'fine linen'); *sukyr* (ME. *sucré*); *blensbwdyr* (*blanche poudre*, as Morris-Jones points out); *gwin klaret*; *byrrion ewined ballassar kwrteisson*, to describe the finger nails (*kwrteis* is from Med. Fr. *courteis*; *ballassar* is not 'azure' but a derivative of Fr. *balescel*, dim. of *balais*, cf. ME. *bales* and *balas*, 'a delicate rose-red variety of the spinel ruby'; cf. further Iolo Goch, 'I Ferch', in describing the maiden's hand:

Llaw fain fal lliw y faneg,  
 Baslart hir, bys hoywlyr teg.  
 Ewin ballasarn arnaw,  
 A modrwy eur yma draw. IGE.<sup>2</sup>, 4. 6-10.)

*ysgin o bali; pan or ermin*. All these suggest that the Welsh reader of this description would be to some degree familiar with a milieu of 'moesseu ffrenghic'.<sup>2</sup>

The practical purpose of 'Kyssegrylan Vuched' is much more evident in the passages which follow this lengthy interpolation. Here are prescribed the methods by which ecstasy and union can be attained. Faith and contemplation are requisite, and the gentle invoking of the Holy Ghost through the words of the 'Veni creator spiritus'.<sup>3</sup> The hymn has been set to the Welsh metre of the *rhupunt*.<sup>4</sup> There are indications, too, of the cult of

<sup>1</sup> The probability that the Welsh version may have been taken from an Anglo-Norman text should not be overlooked, but I have not yet seen a likely source. J. Visig, *Anglo-Norman language and literature*, p. 58, no. 182 refers to *La distinction de la Estature Jhesu Crist nostre Seigneur* in the fourteenth-century Harl. MS. 2253, f. 127<sup>r</sup>; this, however, is a version of the Lentulus epistle (Harl. MS. Cat. ii. 591).

<sup>2</sup> *Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* (RP.), col. 1374.4.

<sup>3</sup> On the authorship of the Latin hymn see A. Wilmart, 'L'hymne et la séquence du Saint-Esprit', *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*, 37-45. S. Harrison Thomson has published three Anglo-Norman translations in *Medium Ævum*, viii. 33-9. Stanza vii, 'Praesta, pater piissime . . .' is not included either in the two complete Anglo-Norman versions (St. John's Coll. Ox. MS. 136, f. 79<sup>v</sup> and Digby MS. 86, f. 67c) or in the Welsh version. Both the A.N. and Welsh versions have added variants of the doxology: the Welsh and Digby MS. 86 have adapted 'Sit laus patri cum filio, etc.'. In stanza iii, l. 2, 'Dextra dei tu digitus', the 'anchorite' has misread 'Bys' (*digitus*) as 'Oys'.

<sup>4</sup> This metre is described in J. Loth, *La métrique galloise*, ii. 120-8; J. Morris-Jones, *Cerdd Dafod*, 312, 331-2. Earlier in the account the Dominicans had heard the *Te Deum* of the Holy Innocents and this hymn has been written in the *rhupunt hir* metre, see Loth, op. cit., ii. 142-3, and Morris-Jones, op. cit., 314, 333.

the Holy Name: 'galw byth ar yr enw bendigedig hwnn. . . .'<sup>1</sup> The work ends with an account of the celestial hierarchy which is, though several times removed, of pseudo-Dionysian origin.

On f. 92<sup>r</sup>, that is, immediately after 'Kyssegylan Vuched', there are three 'englynion'. One cannot interpret them without reference to the prose text, but taken in conjunction with the description of the divine illumination they are deeply impressive in their restrained simplicity. Here is the key from the text: 'ac ogwely yryw ganneitwenn wybrenn yn deissyuyt yn kyflewni dy holl olwc. atholl galonn oadwynserch tragywydolder bywyt . . . yn disgleiraw megys lluchaden gwybyd ymae ef ehun ynysprydawl oruoled gnawtolder ysyd yno' (f. 89<sup>v</sup>), ('and if thou seest some shining white cloud suddenly filling thy whole sight and thy whole heart with the gentle love of eternal life . . . gleaming like a flash of lightning, know that it is He Himself in spiritual triumphant Incarnation who is there'). I find it difficult to give an adequate translation of these *englynion*. There is no inherent obscurity in the vocabulary, but the syntax, the alliteration and indeed the synonymous richness of the lines all combine to make the risk of translation great. A reading of them will perhaps help to transmit something of their quality:

Gwanecneit kanneit kynnar. val kannwyll:

kynn nor dyd nae darpar.

gwiwne gwawr vore gwawnar.<sup>2</sup>

gweleis luchadenn wenn war.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle*, 72-76, 245, discusses the growth of the cult. It appears that 'Rolle's predilection for the Holy Name of Jesus' took 'more than one form of expression'. In his earlier work 'the devotion is an instrument, not of discipline, but of ecstasy' (as in the Welsh text). It is treated under the second degree in his later manuals.

In addition to +Yessu+, the mystic names (f. 89<sup>v</sup>) are 'Messias+Sother+Emanuel+tetragramton (*sic*)+Sabaoth+adonay+alpha+ & o+ agyos+'. For σωτήρ, cf. John iv. 42, 1 John iv. 14; 'tetragramton' is an error for τετραγράμματον, 'the name of four letters', i.e. the Divine name. There is another series of 'holy names' in Llanstephan MS. 27, f. 152 (*c.* 1400—see *Report Welsh MSS.* ii. 459).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ir. *fáinne an lae*, 'dawn of day', see *Revue Celtique*, xxxviii. 297.

<sup>3</sup> With 'Gweleis luchadenn wenn war', cf. Hugh of St. Victor (quoting pseudo-Dionysius), *In Hierarch coelest.*, 'Multas quidem, et beatas videns pure contemplationes, simplosque et immediatos fulgores, illuminata, et divino alimento repleta', *PL.* clxxv. 1062; Gilbert de Hoilandia, *Serm. in Cantic.* (xviii), *PL.* clxxxiv. 94: 'Tertium ad aureum reclinatorium, ubi Domini facies sine velamento sincere videtur: et in auro rutilat majestas regia. . . . Et fulgor iste fulguri comparatur. In momento fit, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba. . . . Eructa tu nobis, Jesu bone, aeterni illius diei horas aliquas. Diem illum statim efficies, cui tuae lucis verbum eructas, qui dies es aeternus. Fulgura

Gwar lauar hoywgein. ym gwely:  
 gweleis wybr am blygein.<sup>1</sup>  
 gwir dwyre mal gwawr dwyrein.  
 gwiw leufer kanneitber kein.

Kein virein ysgein ysg(a)wn chwec, gwiwlwys.  
 gweleis wybrenn divrec.  
 garueid deyrneid dec.  
 gwiwne morewyn gwanec.

The cloud appeared like a brilliant wave-leap; it brought the true colour of dawn, 'morning gossamer' and 'I saw a white, gentle flash'. There was gentle speech in that cloud at daybreak, and with it came fragrant illumination. We are reminded of Matt. xxiv. 27, 'Sicut enim fulgur exit ab oriente et paret usque in occidentem: ita erit et adventus Filii hominis', and the parallels in twelfth- and thirteenth-century writings are many.

I have devoted this attention to 'Kyssegyrlan Vuched' or 'Ymborth yr Eneit' because of its importance. It is neither a strange medley of ill-sorted metaphors and allusions nor a shapeless 'religio-romantic' exercise. Deeply embedded in the rhetorical richness of its style and amidst the bewildering variety of its images, the patient eye can discern the forms and modes of twelfth- and thirteenth-century mysticism. They have been, it is true, heavily overlaid, but there is no mistaking the authentic qualities and the familiar features. What the immediate source or sources were it is difficult to say. Dr. Hartwell Jones stated that 'it is made up of several documents strung together, some of which I have traced in the National Library of Paris'. Unfortunately he gave no references to any manuscripts in Paris, and there is nothing either in the catalogue of Delisle or in the various notices of Hauréau which gives any direct help. We must therefore await further investigation and be content with asking whether 'Kyssegyrlan Vuched' is based on some *Tractatus de vita beata* or *sacrosancta* and 'Ymborth yr Eneit' derived from some *Refectio* or *Pabulum Animae*,<sup>2</sup> remembering the titles of two of Honorius's lost books, *Refectio mentium* and *Pabulum vitae*.

nobis coruscationes tales. Fulgur efficitur, cui tu fulguras'; pseudo-Bonaventure, *De septem itineribus aeternitatis*, iv. Dist. iv, Art. iii, 'Quasi lux splendens procedit et crescit usque ad perfectam diem, scilicet perfectae charitatis.'

<sup>1</sup> One is reminded of Is. xix. 1, 'Dominus veniet super nubem levem' and the translation 'Ef a daw yr Arglwyd ar wybren ysgawn', *Revue Celtique*, xxxiii. 189.

<sup>2</sup> The list of the contents of Jesus Coll. MS. 119 in Bernard's catalogue describes 'Kyssegyrlan Vuched' as *Tractatus cui titulus vita sacro-sancta seu Animae*



## III

The 'anchorite' of Llanddewifrefi was probably both the compiler and the scribe of the manuscript with which his name has become associated. Versions of some of the texts which he collected are found in manuscripts of earlier dates and there is plenty of evidence to show that the works of which earlier copies have not survived were also transcribed from other manuscripts. Another text of *Transitus Mariae*, for example, occurs in a collection of the miracles of the Blessed Virgin which has been preserved in Peniarth MS. 14,<sup>1</sup> of about 1250, and a copy of this is found in Peniarth MS. 5 of 1300–25, but the Anchorite's copy is not derived from Pen. MS. 14. In Pen. MS. 5 there are also versions of the *Quicunque vult* (which differs from the anchorite's copy), of the articles of faith included in 'Py delw y dyly dyn credu y Duw', of the blessings of hearing Mass, and a different arrangement of the *In Principio*. Theological and religious works, lives of saints, fragments of the miracles of St. Edmund<sup>2</sup> and apocryphal legends are found in this manuscript side by side with Charlemagne material. The nature and content of this medieval Welsh religious prose are becoming better known to scholars, and, if one may use the phrase, its ecclesiastical nexus can now be more thoroughly understood. This is especially true, I think, of some of the material in the Book of the Anchorite.

Miss Gibbs and Miss Lang, in their *Bishops and reform, 1215–1272*, have indicated some of the effects of the Fourth Lateran Council and subsequently of the Oxford Council of 1222 on ecclesiastical administration in England, Professor Cheney has recently put in clearer perspective the pastoral work and legislative activity of the thirteenth-century English bishops. The problem of ignorant, and indeed illiterate, beneficed clergy had to be faced. In consequence there are episcopal statutes which expound in a simple manner the chief articles of the Christian faith 'or at least (give) a summary account of the seven sacramentalia'. Cf. also *Chwedlau Odo* (ed. Ifor Williams), 5–6, 'velly llawer o'r myneich . . . pan darlleont, neu pan glywont darllein buchedeu seint, neu ffirwythlawr ystoryaeu ereill clotuorus, y chwaneckau synhwyr ac ymborth yr eneit trwydunt. . . .'

<sup>1</sup> The Peniarth MS. 14 version has been printed in *BBCS*. x. 29–33.

<sup>2</sup> A note on f. 42 of Peniarth MS. 14, following the Welsh version of the Miracles of St. Edmund says that

'Gerard archescop sans. Bened. escop auvern. Ac abbadeu o cistaus. o pontyney. o ioyac. o glynn lucerite. o quincian. o menachlogoed o urdas cistaus a yscrivenassant e gvyrthyau hynn. e baup or a vei ossodedic en archescobaut keint.'

ments'.<sup>1</sup> In turn, the clergy are exhorted 'to instruct their parishioners in these matters, simply and in the vernacular'.

The Constitutions of Richard le Poore, of Walter de Cantilupe of Worcester, with their 'solid core of didactic material', of Robert Grosseteste and of Alexander Stavensby, Bishop of Coventry, illustrate how this task was undertaken. According to a thirteenth-century manuscript in the *Bibliothèque Cantonale* at Zürich, the bishops of Llandaff and St. David's were present at the Fourth Lateran Council, but no Welsh Constitutions appear to have survived. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that the effects of the Council were felt in Wales. Little is to be gained by idle speculation on these matters, but it is worth recalling, I think, that in 1247 Thomas Wallensis, Archdeacon of Lincoln, became Bishop of St. David's. I quote once again from Matthew Paris:

Vacante igitur sede Menevensi, post innumeras Walliae tribulationes per guerram et principum eorum mortem, electus est in eundem episcopatum magister Thomas cognomento Walensis, eo quod in Wallia fuerat oriundus, Lincolnensis ecclesiae archidiaconus. Cui electioni, licet episcopatus pauperrimus extitisset, consensit, tum propter episcopum Lincolnensem qui canonicos suos superaverat, tum propter hoc quod in natali patria ad curam vocabatur, et ad dulcedinem originis sui quilibet naturaliter attrahitur, tum ut miseros compatriotas suos sua praesentia, consilio et auxilio consolaretur.<sup>2</sup>

In 1238, Robert Grosseteste had induced Thomas, then a regent-master in Paris, to become Archdeacon of Lincoln: 'multum etiam tibi timendum est', he wrote, 'quod si pro docendo aliquot scholares Parisius in sublimitate sermonis sapientiam, renuas docere multum multipliciter plures oves Jesu Christi simplices in infirmitate, sed tamen in ostensione spiritus et virtutis, Jesum Christum et Hunc crucifixum, utrumque tibi in justam poenam auferatur; videlicet, ut nec unquam scholares in cathedra solido cibo, nec simplices oves Christi, lacte simplicis doctrinae pascas.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the thirteenth century*, 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Maj.* (R.S.), iv. 647.

<sup>3</sup> Grosseteste, *Epist.* (R.S.). 149. Both Matthew Paris's account and Grosseteste's letter invite comparison with the earlier statements of Giraldus Cambrensis: 'Haec est enim in Anglia regula non fallens, quod nemo de Wallia oriundus cujuscunque probitatis fuerit aut bonitatis in Wallia episcopari debet, sed probatissimo Wallensi et dignissimo vilissimus Anglicus in hoc est praeferendus', *De invest.* v, vi (R.S. i. 131) and again 'Haec etenim Anglorum opinio et quasi sententia rata, quod vilis et abjectus in Anglia validus et acceptus in Wallia'. *De jur. et stat.*, Dist. I (ibid. iii. 121).

Thomas, then, can be compared with Alexander Stavensby, who had been a regent of Theology at Toulouse, and with Roger Weseham, Bishop of Coventry (1245–54), formerly reader in Theology to the Franciscans at Oxford, archdeacon of Oxford, and Dean of Lincoln. I do not wish to exaggerate the significance of Thomas Wallensis's appointment to the see of St. David's, but it is at least important to know that he was there during the middle of the thirteenth century when some of these texts were being translated and transcribed.<sup>1</sup>

A cursory glance through the *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Old Royal and King's Collections*<sup>2</sup> will show us the nature of the sources from which the English clergy drew their material; it will also disclose evidence of book-owning and book-borrowing among the lower clergy.<sup>3</sup> The *Elucidarium*, 'Fides exposita quomodo credatur unus deus trinitas et trinitas unus deus', *Summae* on the Commandments, sins, sacraments and articles of faith, notes on the Lord's Prayer, *Liber Reimundi de penitenciis et remissionibus*: I have chosen at random and it is all very familiar. Let me take an example from Wales. Sir Ifor Williams has published the tract known as *Penityas* from Peniarth MS. 190,<sup>4</sup> a manuscript of the fifteenth century to which I have already referred. This tract derives from the *Summa de poenitentia et matrimonio* of Raymond of Pennafort—'a hynny a dyweit Raymwnt yn swm'. The other contents of this manuscript are the *Elucidarium* and 'Kyssegylan Vuched'. Their thirteenth-century connexions are not far to seek: the episcopal *Instructiones* with their theological and homiletic advice, and the friars' manuals on confession and penance.

'Kyssegylan Vuched', as we have seen, devotes considerable attention to the mystical experiences of a certain Dominican. Alexander Stavensby of Coventry had close associations with the Dominicans, and it has been suggested that the treatises on sins and penance which are so closely related to his statutes may have been produced by friars in his service. Grosseteste, too, tells us that the Friars Minor were setting a good example for

<sup>1</sup> Since the delivery of this lecture, Mr. J. Conway Davies has published a masterly study of 'The Welsh bishops, 1066–1272' in *Episcopal acts relating to Welsh dioceses*, ii. 537–69. His account of Thomas Wallensis (pp. 558–61), 'whose abilities and scholarship would have secured a bishopric in England, or, indeed, anywhere in Western Europe', brings support to the suggestion tentatively put forward in the lecture.

<sup>2</sup> ed. G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson.

<sup>3</sup> This point has been made by C. R. Cheney, *JTS*. xlv. 102.

<sup>4</sup> *BBCS*. vii. 370 ff.; viii. 134 ff., 324 ff., also Thomas Jones, *ibid.* 124.

the parish clergy in both preaching and confessing.<sup>1</sup> The thirteenth-century manuscript Bodley 36, which was presented to the Library in 1625 by John Davies of Mallwyd, is of relevant interest to an inquiry into the probable manuscript sources of the medieval Welsh translations of Latin theological writings. This manuscript belonged at one time to the Franciscan friary at Carmarthen, and its contents include Grosseteste's *De templo Dei*,<sup>2</sup> the *Summa* of Raymond of Pennafort, works by St. Augustine, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, Guillaume of Saint-Thierry, and St. Bernard. And, of course, the influence of the Austin Friars deserves a particularly close study.

It is against this background, then, that I think we must first place most of the contents of the Book of the Anchorite. Within the same framework one would also consider, for example, *Le Manuel des Péchés*. Yet there is this difference to be noted between these writings, and it is an important difference, I believe. It is this: the Welsh material is entirely in prose; metrical forms are not adopted.<sup>3</sup> It may be, as Mr. J. E. Caerwyn Williams implies,<sup>4</sup> that the nature of the Welsh poetic tradition was the decisive factor. But it is significant that the texts which are obviously suited for prose translation (for example, the *Visio Sancti Pauli*) are for the greater part rendered into verse in English, whereas in Welsh the medium is prose. There is a further implication, as Mr. Saunders Lewis has consistently reminded us: the continuity of Welsh prose is a hard actuality which cannot be ignored, and at their highest level the prose translations in the Book of the Anchorite take their place among the glories of that tradition.

#### IV

There is one other question which I should much like to consider with you today, and here I return to the note added to the prologue of 'Hystoria Lucidar'.

<sup>1</sup> '... the reforming bishops as a group seem to have had closer relations with the black than with the grey friars', David Knowles, *The religious orders in England*, 165. 'The Dominican ideal', according to Miss Smalley, 'was to combine the work of studious contemplatives, like Hugh or Andrew, or Alexander Nequam, with the zeal for popular preaching and reform of a secular master like Stephen Langton', *The study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 220.

<sup>2</sup> See S. H. Thomson, *The writings of Robert Grosseteste*, 138, 162, 176, 251.

<sup>3</sup> 'Les auteurs sans intentions littéraires', writes M. Langlois, when discussing the French 'littérature d'édification', 'ont écrit, d'ordinaire, en prose'. (op. cit. xx). I do not think that this comment will adequately explain the Welsh peculiarity.

<sup>4</sup> 'Rhyddiaith grefyddol Cymraeg Canol', *Y Traethodydd*, xcvi. 40.

Some of the medieval manuals of religious instruction in England were written for the educated and well-born layman, and it seems to me probable that the Book of the Anchorite provides us with a Welsh specimen. The name of the scribe's patron is given in full: Gruffudd ap Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn of Cantref Mawr. Cantref Mawr comprised the northern uplands of Carmarthenshire as far as the Teifi, where it bordered on Ceredigion. The dominant figure in these latter regions during the middle of the thirteenth century was Maredudd ab Owain who was descended from the great Lord Rhys, founder and benefactor of Strata Florida abbey. His family had for generations been the protectors and patrons of Welsh poets. Maredudd died in 1265, but these literary interests were maintained by at least two of his children, Gruffudd and Efa. It was for Gruffudd ap Maredudd that Madawc ap Selyf translated both the Turpin Chronicle of the *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*<sup>1</sup> and the *Transitus Mariae*, versions of which are preserved in Peniarth MS. 5. In this manuscript, as we have already seen, there is also a version of the *Quicunque vult*, and the colophon states that

(Credo) Anastasius Sant y gelwir yr hynn a traethwyd yma hyt hynn a'r brawt Gruffud Bola<sup>2</sup> ae troes o'r Lladin yg Kymraec yr caryat Eua verch Varedud ap Ywein ae henryded. (f. xlix<sup>b</sup>)

(The *credo* of St. Anastasius (*sic*) is the name of what has been expounded here so far, and the Brother Gruffudd Bola translated it from Latin into Welsh out of regard for Efa, daughter of Maredudd ap Owain, and in her honour.)

A third son of Maredudd, Owain, died in 1275 and was succeeded by the young Llywelyn ab Owain 'who accepted the position of a minor marcher lord in the commotes of Mabwynion and Gwynionydd',<sup>3</sup> and died in 1309. One of Llywelyn's daughters, Elen (or Eleanor) married Llywelyn ap Phylip ap Trahaearn of Rhydodyn in Cantref Mawr.<sup>4</sup>

In Gruffudd ap Llywelyn the tradition of literary patronage

<sup>1</sup> Stephen J. Williams, *Ystoria de Carolo Magno*, xxx.

<sup>2</sup> *Bola* is the Welsh representation of the English surname *Bole* which frequently occurs in the St. David's records, e.g. *Black Book of St. David's* (ed. Willis Bünd), 28, Johannes Bola; 154, Thomas Bole, John Bole; 224, Ieuan ap Bola; *Episcopal registers of the diocese of St. David's* (ed. R. F. Isaacson), i. 306, John Bole, v. of Carew 1404; ii. 622, Hugh Bole (Booll), v. of Clyro, 1491; 434, John Bolle, deacon; 428, Johannes Bole de Kermerdyne, acolyte.

<sup>3</sup> J. E. Lloyd, *The story of Ceredigion*, 104.

<sup>4</sup> L. Dwnn, *Heraldic visitations*, i. 225; G. T. O. Bridgeman, *History of the princes of South Wales*, 241; *West Wales historical records*, i. 66 (from Peniarth MS. 156). Llywelyn ab Owain's grand-daughter Elen was Owain Glyn Dŵr's mother (J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, 17).

so firmly established by his ancestor, the Lord Rhys, and continued by the children of Maredudd ab Owain was further upheld.<sup>1</sup> The family of Rhydodyn developed important literary connexions.<sup>2</sup> Gruffudd's brother, Dafydd ap Llywelyn of Rhydodyn, married Angharad, daughter of Morgan ap Meredudd, lord of Tredegar; she, from her previous marriage to Llywelyn ab Ifor, had three sons, one of whom was Ifor Hael.<sup>3</sup> Then, Morgan ap Dafydd ap Llywelyn of Rhydodyn was known for his generosity to poets, and when, sometime between 1383 and 1387, he became involved in the killing of a Justice of the Peace in Carmarthen, Gruffudd Llwyd addressed a *cywydd* to Sir David Hanmer to suggest the names of twelve bards who might be summoned to consider the case of this 'mael hael helmlas'.<sup>4</sup> Later, in the fifteenth century, Lewis Glyn Cothi sang the praises of Dafydd Fychan of Rhydodyn, one of this Morgan's descendants. He knew that gracious hospitality still awaited poets when they visited Caeco:

Caeo ei hun, dalfainc hael  
Yw Nasreth wen, neu Israel;  
Mae'r deuddeg llwyth yng Nghaeaw,  
Mae pob llwyth yn wyth neu naw.<sup>5</sup>

He declares

Bid rhyw Phylip Trahaearn  
Bena' o'r byd ban ro barn.<sup>6</sup>

and that

Afon dda ddigon i ddyn  
Erioedd ydoedd Rhyd Odyn.<sup>7</sup>

At that time the Book of the Anchorite remained a treasured possession in the family, for a much faded entry on f. 4<sup>r</sup> records

<sup>1</sup> On the patrons of hermits in the early fourteenth century, see H. E. Allen, *op. cit.* 449. The provision of manuals for educated lay men is discussed in Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*, 209, 211, 216, 220-21; H. G. Pfander, 'Some medieval manuals of instruction in England and observations on Chaucer's "Parson's Tale"', *JEGPh.* xxxv. 243-58; M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the cloisters*, 109. Cf. also the prologue to *Le Manuel des Pêchés*, 'Pur la laie gent est fet'.

<sup>2</sup> Rhydodyn, later Edwinsford, is in Llansawel, near Caeco.

<sup>3</sup> L. Dwnn, *op. cit.* i. 219; Ifor Williams, *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i gyfoeswyr*, xvii-xviii. For a later alliance between Rhydodyn and Tredegar, see G. T. Clark, *op. cit.*, 310, and John Williams, *Llyfr Baglan*, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Lewis, *et al.*, *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac eraill*<sup>2</sup>, 116-18 (*IGE*.<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, 201.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 203.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 205.

'llyma lyvyr dd. ap morgan (v)ychan ap david ap morgan Gwedy gryffyth ap lln. ap philip ap t(ra)hayarn'. This Dafydd was the great-great-grandson of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's brother. The record of the Rhydodyn family during those centuries was a noble one,<sup>1</sup> and it is further proof that Ceredigion and Cantref Mawr shared something of the literary activity which was so strong in Morgannwg and Gŵyr in the fourteenth century when 'noblemen encouraged clerics who understood French and Latin to translate contemporary popular works into Welsh'.<sup>2</sup>

We have no means for discovering whether the 'ancr' of Llanddewifrefi was a 'reclusus' or a 'solitarius non stricte reclusus'.<sup>3</sup> (The form *ancr*, incidentally, is a borrowing from ME. *ancre* or *anker*.) That he should have chosen Llanddewifrefi for his hermitage is not surprising when we recall not only the holy associations of the place with the life of St. David but also the more authenticated event of 1287 when Thomas Bek, Bishop of St. David's, founded a collegiate church in the valley of the Teifi at Llanddewifrefi. His aims can be deduced from the terms of the deed of foundation of a similar college of secular priests which he had already established at Llangadog in the Tywi valley:

In hoc etiam avide acuius cor nostrum, et effundimus viscerabiliter vota nostra, ut loca de Estrathewy, loca quidem hactenus lamentatus, interitus et excidii, convertantur in loca laetitiae spiritualis et obsequii Redemptoris; tuti etiam refugii et securitatis patriae adjacentis, ubi quamplures de Dei et domini regis fidelibus vitam et victualia per insidiantium molimina ignominiose ante haec tempora misere perderunt.<sup>4</sup>

'As the voice of the saint had swelled like a trumpet over the assembly', comments Professor Hamilton Thompson, '. . . so

<sup>1</sup> It is not without interest to recall the long connexion of the Rhydodyn family with that of Y Tywyn; see Dwnn, op. cit. i. 59, 61, 66, 167. There are other references to Rhydodyn in T. Roberts and Ifor Williams, *The poetical works of Dafydd Nanmor*, 5; Ifor Williams and J. Llywelyn Williams, *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn*, 278.

<sup>2</sup> G. J. Williams, op. cit. 147-9, 174, 180. Cf. the colophon to Mostyn MS. 184, a late fifteenth-century MS. containing the text of the 'Seint Greal':

'Y copi kynttaf a ysgrivennod Mastir Phylip davyd o unic lyfyr y urdedic ewythr Trahaearn ab Jeuan ab Mauric: Ar llyfyr hwnn a beris syr rys vab th(oma)s i esgrivennu ar y gost e hun. Henw yr ysgolhaic ae hysgrifennodd. Gwilim vab John vab Gwilim vab Jeuan' (*Rep. Welsh MSS.* i. 274).

<sup>3</sup> For the distinction see L. Olier, 'Regulae tres reclusorum et eremitarum Angliae Saec. xiii-xiv', *Antoniarum*, iii. 151; L. Gougaud, 'Étude sur la réclusion religieuse', *Revue Mabillon*, xiii. 26-39, 77.

<sup>4</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi (iii), 1332.

doubtless Bek hoped that the sound of Llanddewi Brefi might go out over all Ceredigion to its spiritual advantage.<sup>1</sup>

The 'anchorite' may have been masquerading, and the compiler of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn's manuscript may, after all, have taken his lead from the ascriptions of the *Elucidarium* to Honorius *solitarius* or *inclusus*. I do not think that this was so. I am reminded here of the colophon to the *Somme le Roi* of Lorens d'Orléans in BM. MS. Royal 19 C 11:

Cest liure compila et fist vn frere de l'ordre des preecheurs a la requeste du roy Phelippe de France en l'an de l'incarnation Ihesu Crist mil deus cens et lxxix. Deo gracias.

And it is safe to assume that of those who read the English translation in *The book of vices and virtues*, not one in ten knew so much as the name of the author. 'To the rest he was merely "a certain friar of the Order of Preachers".'<sup>2</sup> But the anchorite did not need any examples of anonymity from other countries, for the overwhelming part of medieval Welsh prose is a monument to inspired anonymity.

## V

I have set out in an appendix a general list of the manuscripts containing the texts in the Book of the Anchorite; it indicates their popularity in Wales during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The *Elucidarium* gives us a fair sample of this popularity.

When the Book of the Anchorite was being written, Hopcyn ap Tomas ab Einion of Ynys Dawy, in Llangyfelach yng Ngŵyr, was a young boy. Professor G. J. Williams has dealt at length both with his place in the literary tradition of Morgannwg and with his activities as a patron of literature. There are many eulogies to him and they all extol his knowledge of books and praise his collection of manuscripts. Dafydd y Coed declares that Hopcyn ap Thomas had 'Eurdar y Lucidarius | A'r Greal a'r Ynyales, | A grym pob kyfreith a'e gras'.<sup>3</sup>

Here we have the *Elucidarium*, the *Greal*, and a book of annals. In that same century, Iolo Goch (1340-98) ponders the question whether a poet should sing praise for money.<sup>4</sup> He knows his 'Liwsidariws' and recalls disapprovingly the answer to 'Habent

<sup>1</sup> 'The Welsh medieval dioceses', *Journal Hist. Soc. Church in Wales*, i. 109.

<sup>2</sup> W. Nelson Francis, *The book of vices and virtues* (EETS. OS. 217), xi.

<sup>3</sup> *RP.* 1376, 20-3; G. J. Williams, *op. cit.* 12.

<sup>4</sup> *IGE.*<sup>2</sup> 119.



spem joculatores?' In another *cywydd*, however—the famous poem to 'The Labourer'—he makes convenient use of Honorius:

Lusudarus hwylus hen  
A ddywad fal yn ddien,  
'Gwyn ei fyd, trwy febyd draw  
A ddeily aradr â'i ddwyllaw'.<sup>1</sup>

The answer to 'Quid de agricolis dicis?' had reached Iolo Goch through 'Gwynn y vyt a vwytao o lavur y dwylaw'. To that extent had one of the texts in our manuscript spread its influence, and one may hope that the other tracts provided 'ymborth yr eneit' for their unknown readers.

## APPENDIX

This list of manuscripts which contain versions of the texts in the Book of the Anchorite has been compiled simply to show the general distribution of these tracts in Welsh manuscript collections. It is not exhaustive and it does not attempt a detailed description either of the manuscripts or of their relationship to each other. The texts are given in the order in which they appear in Jesus College MS. 119.

The following abbreviations are used:

BM.	British Museum	P.	Peniarth
Card.	Cardiff	Pant.	Panton
H.	Havod	Sh.	Shrewsbury School
J.	Jesus College, Oxford	RWM.	<i>Report on Manuscripts in the</i>
Llanst.	Llanstephan		<i>Welsh language</i> (Historical
M.	Mostyn		Manuscripts Commission)
NLW.	National Library of Wales		

### A. *Hystoria Lucidar*

(i) Llanst. 27 ('The Red Book of Talgarth'), c. 1400; ff. 1–20<sup>v</sup>, 21–25; twenty folios missing between 20<sup>v</sup> and 21 were bound in P. 12, pp. 77–116 (RWM. ii. 455); probably derived from J. 119.

(ii) P. 15, xv c., probably derived from J. 119 (RWM. i. 334).

(iii) P. 190, first quarter xv c., in a hand similar to that of J. 111, the 'Red Book of Hergest' (RWM. i. 1017).

(iv) J. 23, early xv c. (RWM. ii. 35).

(v) H. 19, 1536; incomplete (RWM. ii. 321).

(vi) Llanst. 117, 1544–52 (RWM. ii. 568).

(vii) P. 227, 1594, copied by Thomas Wiliems from the lost 'Llyfr Gwyn o Hergest', mainly in the hand of Lewis Glyn Cothi, c. 1461 (RWM. ii. 1054, 825–36; G. J. Williams, op. cit., 192–3; Thomas Jones, BBCS. x. 15–16).

(viii) Wrexham 2, xvi c. (*RWM.* ii. 360).

(ix) H. 22, late xvi c. (*RWM.* ii. 329); the MS. was probably at one time in the Thomas Wilkins collection (G. J. Williams, *op. cit.*, 164, 175 n. 98).

(x) P. 12, late xvi c., pp. 23–76 (*RWM.* i. 323); for pp. 76–116 see (i) above.

(xi) Llanst. 155, late xvi c., a summary version (*RWM.* ii. 728).

(xii) Llanst. 113, 1603, copied by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy from a MS. of 1531 (*RWM.* ii. 567).

(xiii) H. 23, 1604, copied by John Jones of Gelli Lyfdy from a MS. of 1531 (*RWM.* ii. 331).

(xiv) M. 144 ('The Red Book of Nannau'), late xvii c. (*RWM.* i. 131).

(xv) NLW. 552B ('Celynog' 26), xvii c. (*Handlist MSS.*, *NLW.*, pt. ii, 33).

(xvi) P. 120, late xvii c., in the hand of Edward Lhuyd; transcribed from J. 119 (*RWM.* i. 730).

(xvii) Pant. 21, xviii c., from 'Llyfr Gwyn Hergest', in the hand of Evan Evans (*RWM.* ii. 829). *Note*: Pant. 17, also in the hand of Evan Evans, refers to the contents of 'Llyfr Gwyn Hergest'.

\*P. 118, late xvi c., once the property of J. D. Rhys, contains 'illustrative phrases and extracts' from J. 119 (*RWM.* i. 723).

#### B. *Hystoria y traethu val yd aeth Meir y nef*

(i) P. 14, c. 1250 (*RWM.* i. 325), but see p. 214.

(ii) P. 5, early xiv c. (*RWM.* i. 305).

(iii) Llanst. 27, see A (i); but this is a different version from J. 119.

(iv) P. 15, see A (ii).

(v) P. 27, pt. iii, xvi c. (*RWM.* i. 358).

(vi) NLW. 5267 B (Dingestow 7), xvii c. (*Handlist MSS.*, *NLW.*, pt. viii, 81).

(vii) NLW. 6209 E, xvii–xviii c. (*Handlist MSS.*, *NLW.*, pt. ix, 158–9).

#### C. *Kyssegylan Vuched (Ymborth yr Eneit)*

(i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).

(ii) P. 15, see A (ii).

(iii) P. 190, see A (iii).

(iv) J. 20, early xv c. Contains 'Pryd y Mab' only (*RWM.* ii. 31; G. J. Williams, *op. cit.* 149).

(v) J. 23, see A (iv).

(vi) Llanst. 3, xv c. Contains 'Pryd y Mab' only (*RWM.* ii. 422).

(vii) Llanst. 10, 1515; incomplete (*RWM.* ii. 442).

(viii) P. 13, second half xvi c. (*RWM.* i. 325).

(ix) P. 227, see A (vii). 'Ymborth yr Eneit' and 'Pryd y Mab' are separate. According to Thomas Wiliems, 'Dafydd Ddu Athro' was the translator.

(x) H. 22, see A (ix); disarranged.

- (xi) Llanst. 155, see A (xi).
- (xii) BM. Add. 31055, 1594-6, in the hand of Thomas Wiliems. 'Pryd y Mab' separate (*RWM.* ii. 1053).
- (xiii) P. 229, late xvi c. Summary of headings (*RWM.* i. 1057).
- (xiv) Llanst. 113, see A (xii).
- (xv) H. 23, see A (xiii). 'Pryd y Mab' separate.
- (xvi) Card. 36, xviii c. 'Pryd y Mab' only (*RWM.* ii. 231).

#### D. *Buched Dewi*

- (i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).
- (ii) Llanst. 4, c. 1400 (*RWM.* ii. 424).
- (iii) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (iv) BM. Cott. Tit. D. xxii, first half xv c. (H. I. Bell in A. W. Wade-Evans, *op. cit.*, xv).
- (v) P. 27, pt. ii, end of xv c. (*RWM.* i. 355).
- (vi) P. 225, 1594-1610 'from an old book written on vellum . . . 200 years ago . . . 1598' (*RWM.* i. 1052).
- (vii) Llanst. 34, late xvi c. (*RWM.* ii. 474).
- (viii) H. 10, c. 1620 (*RWM.* ii. 312).
- (ix) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).

#### E. *Buched Beuno*

- (i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).
- (ii) Llanst. 4, see D (ii).
- (iii) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (iv) Llanst. 117, 1548 (*RWM.* ii. 574).
- (v) P. 225, see D (vi).
- (vi) Llanst. 34, see D (vii).
- (vii) P. 252, xvi-xvii c. (*RWM.* i. 1070).
- (viii) H. 10, see D (viii).

#### F. *Hystoria Adrian ac Ipotis*

- (i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).
- (ii) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (iii) Llanst. 117, see E (iv).
- (iv) BM. Add. 15047, 1575-6 (*Cat. Add. MSS. BM.*, 79).
- (v) BM. Add. 15040, xvii c. (*ibid.* 77).
- (vi) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).
- (vii) BM. Add. 31055, see C (xii)—fragment.
- (viii) NLW. 6882 D, xviii c. (*Handlist MSS., NLW.*, pt. x, 221).
- (ix) NLW. 14402, xviii c.
- (x) NLW. 5284 C (Powel 9), transcribed from (vii) above, see C (xii)—fragment (*Handlist MSS., NLW.*, pt. viii, 85).

#### G. *Credo Seint Athanasius*

- (i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).
- (ii) P. 15, see A (ii).

(iii) BM. Add. 31055, see C (xii).

(iv) Pant. 21, see A (xvii).

*Note:* The versions in P. 5 [see B (ii)] and H. 23 [see C (xv)] are different from those listed above (see p. 214).

#### H. 'Py delw y dyly dyn credu y Duw'

(i) P. 5, see B (ii).

(ii) Llanst. 27, see A (i).

(iii) P. 15, see A (ii).

(iv) P. 50, first half xv c. (*RWM.* i. 389).

(v) Llanst. 3, see C (vi); incomplete.

(vi) P. 191, mid-xv c. (*RWM.* i. 1018).

(vii) Llanst. 2, second half xv c. (*RWM.* ii. 420).

(viii) BM. Add. 31055, see C (xii).

(ix) H. 19, 1536 (*RWM.* ii. 321).

(x) H. 22, see A (ix).

(xi) P. 311, 1635-40 (*RWM.* i. 1113)—derived from H (iv) above.

(xii) P. 314, 1634-41 (*RWM.* i. 1119)—derived from P. 15 [see A (ii) and H (iii) above].

(xiii) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).

(xiv) Pant. 21, see A (xvii).

(xv) Pant. 49, xviii c. (*RWM.* ii. 857).

(xvi) Card. 36, see C (xvi).

#### I. *Pwyll y Pader*

(i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).

(ii) P. 12, see A (x).

(iii) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).

(iv) BM. Add. 31055, see C (xii).

(v) Pant. 21, see A (xvii).

#### J. *Rinwedeu Gwrandaw Offeren*

(a) (i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).

(ii) P. 15, see A (ii).

(iii) P. 32, mid-xv c. (*RWM.* i. 363).

(iv) Llanst. 3, see C (vi).

(b) (i) P. 5, see B (ii).

(ii) P. 15, see A (ii).

(iii) P. 32, see J (a) (iii).

(iv) Llanst. 3, see C (vi).

(v) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).

#### K. *Breudwyt Pawl Ebostol*

(i) P. 14, see B (i).

(ii) P. 3, pt. ii, c. 1300 (*RWM.* i. 304).

(iii) Llanst. 27, see A (i).

- (iv) Llanst. 4, see D (ii).
- (v) Shrewsbury School 11, early xvc. (*RWM.* i. 1127).
- (vi) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (vii) P. 191 and Bangor 1, mid-xv c., see H (vi).
- (viii) P. 50, see H (iv).
- (ix) P. 32, see J (a) (iii)—Redaction I (see p. 203).
- (x) H. 19, see H (ix).
- (xi) Llanst. 117, see E (iv).
- (xii) BM. Add. 14967, mid-xvi c. (*RWM.* ii. 996).
- (xiii) P. 94, late xvi c. (*RWM.* i. 578).
- (xiv) P. 254, c. 1609 (*RWM.* i. 1071).
- (xv) P. 170, early xvii c. (*RWM.* i. 964).
- (xvi) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).
- (xvii) P. 311, see H (xi).
- (xviii) Pant. 49, see H (xv).

#### L. 'Am gadw dyw Sul'

- (i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).
- (ii) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (iii) J. 20, see C (iv).
- (iv) BM. Cott. Tit. D., xxii, see D (iv).
- (v) NLW. 6882 D, see F (viii).

#### M. 'Rybud Gabriel at Veir'

- (i) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (ii) NLW. 6209 E, see B (vii). See also n. 4, p. 206.

#### N. *Euegyl Ieuan Ebostol*

- (i) P. 5, see B (ii), see n. 4, p. 206.
- (ii) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (iii) BM. Add. 31055, see C (xii).
- (iv) NLW. 722 B, xvi c. (*Handlist MSS.*, NLW., pt. ii, 53).
- (v) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).

#### O. 'Y Drindawt yn vn Duw'

- (i) Llanst. 27, see A (i).
- (ii) Llanst. 3, see C (vi).
- (iii) P. 12, see A (x).
- (iv) H. 23, see A (xiii).

#### P. *Hystoria gwlat Ieuan Vendigeit*

- (i) P. 15, see A (ii).
- (ii) NLW. 5267 B, see B (vi).

## OBITUARY NOTICES

PLATE 1



BATTISCOMBE GEORGE GUNN

## BATTISCOMBE GEORGE GUNN

1883-1950

**B**ATTISCOMBE GUNN (he rarely used his second name) was the son of the late George Gunn, a member of the London Stock Exchange, and was born 30 June 1883. His father, naturally enough, destined his son for a business career, and actually Gunn did begin life in that capacity, for on the completion of his education at Westminster and Bedale's schools, he entered the service of a City bank. But although brilliant at figures and competent at this work, he found it so distasteful that it was soon abandoned. A second project, that of becoming an engineer, in which his mathematical gifts would have served him well, was likewise dropped. Gunn's temperament was essentially artistic and literary: whilst he was all his life an indefatigable worker, he wished always to work in his own way and in his own time, and rebelled at the discipline and set routine of office work. Had he, indeed, remained in commercial life, he might yet have been the brilliant scholar he became, for business men have made notable contributions to scholarship and science. One has only to mention the names of George Grote, Samuel Rogers, Dawson Turner, William Roscoe, Hudson Gurney, John Henry Gurney, William Backhouse, Joseph Prestwick, Lord Avebury, James W. Bosanquet, Hilton Price, and Walter Leaf—all of them bankers or business men—to realize the truth of this statement. And in Gunn's own field of Egyptology there have been notable instances of the same kind, for Charles Wycliffe Goodwin was a lawyer and François Chabas a wine-merchant; both only part-time workers in the science they did so much to advance and adorn. But in Gunn's case, this was not to be and he sought for a more congenial outlet for his powers.

Gunn lived for some years in Paris where he carried on his studies and made journalism his temporary livelihood, and he was for some time also a sub-editor of the Paris edition of the *Daily Mail*. From 1908 to 1911 he was private secretary to Sir Arthur Pinero, an appointment which certainly brought him agreeable employment, though still far removed from the interests that were nearest to his heart.

With a natural flair for languages, Gunn speedily made himself master of several modern languages and a competent



scholar in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic. Even in his schooldays he began to interest himself in the interpretation of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. He did not merely dabble, but set himself with characteristic thoroughness to a serious study of the writing and grammar of ancient Egyptian and its derivative, Coptic. These laboriously self-taught studies were at first carried on clandestinely, for he received no encouragement from his father who regarded such preoccupations as a waste of time. His progress, nevertheless, was remarkable and as early as 1906 he produced his first publication, *The Instruction of Ptah-hotep*, a translation of a well-known early literary text of which the principal manuscript is the Prisse Papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale [1].<sup>1</sup> In Paris, Gunn studied the original papyrus, and did not rely, as so many of his predecessors had done, upon the inaccurate published versions of the text. The choice of this text may be considered both lucky and unlucky. It was lucky because it immersed Gunn deeply in the study of the grammar and syntax of Middle Egyptian, to which he so brilliantly contributed later on: it was unlucky because he selected for his first essay a text of extreme obscurity and complexity, which Sir Alan Gardiner has described as 'that most difficult of Egyptian texts'. Looking back on Gunn's translation after an interval of more than forty years, we may now perceive that it was no doubt premature, and Gunn himself said to me, about a year before his death: 'I entirely repudiate my translation of the Prisse Papyrus, so far as one can repudiate what is in print.' *Littera scripta manet*: nevertheless this early effort had many merits. It produced some new readings and is in many respects a considerable improvement on all previous attempts. The little book was immediately successful: after its first appearance in 1906, it was twice reprinted, and a second edition of it appeared in 1912.

In 1913 an opportunity arose for Gunn to gratify his ambition to visit Egypt. He joined the staff of Petrie's excavating party at Harageh, and he worked with the late Reginald Engelbach on that site, his particular charge being the epigraphic material discovered. In the report on the excavations, he published an account of the inscriptions and papyri that were brought to light, reserving the latter, however, for fuller treatment later [18]. Unfortunately he never fulfilled this intention and the Harageh papyri remained in his hands until 1940, when he handed them

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in square brackets refer to the Bibliography at the end of this memoir.

over to Paul Smither who, before his lamented early death, had published only one of them.

Before Gunn could revisit Egypt for a second season, the First World War had broken out. He joined the Forces in 1914, but his military service was of short duration, for ill health caused him to be invalided out of the army a year later. Of his activities between this period and the year 1921, when he again went to Egypt, mention will be made later on.

In the winter of 1921-2, Gunn was a member of the expedition sent by the Egypt Exploration Society to Tel el-Amarnah, where he worked with the late Professor Peet and Dr. (now Sir) Leonard Woolley. He contributed to the memoir describing the excavations [19]. At the conclusion of this campaign he was appointed to the staff of the Service des Antiquités of the Egyptian Government, where for several years he conducted excavations with the late Cecil Mallaby Firth in the Pyramid-field of Sakḥara, and contributed to the volume on the excavations [25]. After living for some time during the summer months on the continent, principally at Vienna, Gunn was appointed, in 1928, Assistant Conservator of the Cairo Museum, a post he retained until 1931, when he went to America as Curator of the Egyptian section of the Philadelphia Museum. His letters at this period reveal that he was not altogether happy in his new surroundings and was anxious to return to England. The opportunity came in 1934, when on the lamented death of Professor Peet, the Oxford Chair of Egyptology became vacant and Gunn was appointed to succeed Peet as Professor of Egyptology in the University of Oxford.

It is now necessary to return to the period which fell between Gunn's discharge from the Army in 1915, and his return to Egypt in 1921. During this time he worked as assistant to Dr. (now Sir) Alan Gardiner in the elaborate lexicographical work upon which the latter was engaged for so many years and which culminated in the publication of his *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* in 1947. In the preface to that work, Sir Alan wrote:

From 1915 onward I received invaluable help from my friend Battiscombe Gunn, who working in my London home ransacked all the periodicals and many editions of texts for discussions of individual words.

But Gunn's work was not solely the clerical labour of a mere searcher. He had the knowledge and perception to evaluate and to criticize what he found. This work led to innumerable

philological discussions with Sir Alan and to exchanges of views: it was, in fact, an intellectual partnership that ended only with Gunn's life although it began in the relationship of master and pupil. Both parties have frequently acknowledged the mutual value of this association.

Partly arising out of his work for Sir Alan Gardiner and partly also independently of it, Gunn was amassing the materials for his largest and most important contribution to Egyptian philology, his *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* [20], which appeared in 1924. This book represents the results of the almost incredible labour of working through, with grammatical and syntactical analysis and annotation, almost the whole of the vast body of published texts in Old- and Middle-Egyptian (and not a few in Late-Egyptian) in order to present the impressive mass of examples that he was able to array in support of each syntactical phenomenon that he enunciated and elucidated. One of the principal contentions of the book is thus expressed in the preface:

I hope that one effect of the book will be to convince its readers that Egyptian verbal forms and constructions are specialized to express past, present and future tenses to a greater extent than has been recognized hitherto. I would here state my opinion for what it may be worth that during the last thirty years Egyptian philologists have stood too much under the influence of the Semitic categories of perfect and imperfect—the completed and the non-completed event. In happy contrast with the two or three tenses of the older Semitic languages, Egyptian possesses a great wealth of finite forms and constructions, only one of which goes back to the Semito-Egyptian stock, all the rest being native products.

This, and the many other propositions set forth in this remarkable book, Gunn has proved to demonstration, and most of his colleagues have adopted his conclusions which are now incorporated into the common stock of knowledge.

When entering upon his duties at Oxford, it was as a teacher that Gunn found his true *métier*. He realized that his first duty was to his pupils; and to his classes as well as to the private tuition of the more advanced of his students, he subordinated his own personal studies and researches. As a tutor he was infinitely painstaking and conscientious. Maintaining a high standard of critical scholarship himself, he imparted it to, and demanded it of, his pupils. He had a precise and didactic method, almost to the point of severity, but this did not exclude—indeed it directly created—the warmest friendship and personal interest in the studies and progress of all who sat under

him. In addition to his tutorial work at Oxford, Gunn undertook the exacting task of editing the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* from September 1935 to the end of 1939, when he was obliged to resign it as it made too heavy a tax on his time.

To his numerous correspondents, Gunn was equally self-sacrificing and helpful. He had no patience with triflers and dilettanti, no toleration of slipshod work or uncritical and unscientific habits of thought; but for his colleagues, for his pupils, and even for strangers who sought his aid, once they had convinced him of their earnestness, no trouble was too great, no drudgery too monotonous, to deflect him from the thoroughness and painstaking care which he always bestowed upon his letters. Here the writer of this memoir must be permitted to speak in the first person and I acknowledge proudly the debt I owe to Gunn in the many letters I have received from him during more than thirty years. I first met him in Sir Alan Gardiner's house in 1917 and from the outset he encouraged me to enlist his help freely in my studies. Though we afterwards had few opportunities for personal contact, we corresponded at intervals from that time onward until within a few weeks of his death. I owe an immense amount of instruction, information, and—still more valuable—avoidance of error, to his never-failing, painstaking, and friendly letters. Of his almost innumerable letters to me, I have preserved and filed no less than seventy-two, as containing information permanently valuable to me. Although I blush to think of the amount of his precious time that I thus stole from him, I console myself that I was not the only offender, for almost every Egyptologist, British and foreign, owes an equal debt to him as a correspondent. For instance, when I recently undertook to catalogue the scientific correspondence of the late Professor P. E. Newberry, I found sixty-four letters from Gunn, most of them very long, covering a period of twenty years. Some of my colleagues have assured me that they have received even greater numbers of letters from him.

In spite of his great industry and learning, Gunn's output of published work, in terms of mere numbers, is not great. This is in some measure due to his aversion from any kind of provisional or interim publication and to his reluctance to put forth any work until he felt sure of its finality and of its value to science. This reluctance or over-caution had caused him to postpone from year to year various undertakings he had in hand. Such an undertaking, for instance, was the editing of an interesting series of Middle Kingdom papyri found in 1922 by

the late Dr. Winlock when excavating at Thebes for the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. These documents, known to scholars as the Hekanakhte Papyri, were placed in Gunn's hands at the time for publication, and now, after twenty-eight years, they are still unpublished.<sup>1</sup>

Such were the factors that tended to restrict Gunn's published output, but there was yet another and more potent factor, and that was the great amount of time he devoted to his pupils and correspondents and to assisting his colleagues in editions of texts and other important publications of their own. Gunn was frequently the final court of appeal in matters of especial uncertainty and obscurity. The late Professor Peet, for instance, once said to me: 'Gunn's eye can see through a brick wall. He can always penetrate the obscurities of the most perplexing texts.' There is scarcely an author or an editor of Egyptological studies during the past twenty-five years who has not acknowledged, both verbally and in print, the unseen, unobtrusive, but always valuable help of Gunn. There is no doubt that he had the most extraordinary perception for *minutiae* and a power of immediately 'spotting' points of all kinds that had escaped the notice of his colleagues. This faculty is very evident in his reviews, if so superficial a title can be given to the detailed and exhaustive scrutinies he published of the works of his colleagues. He not only had an eagle-eye for printers' errors and for slips or inconsistencies on the part of authors, but his reviews in every case contributed constructively to the subjects under notice. He worked through every text afresh, word by word and letter by letter, and he set forth his conclusions clearly and concisely. Gunn's reviews were often very long, and he sometimes found it necessary to write from 5,000 to 10,000 words when examining an important work. In this connexion special mention may be made of his reviews of Sethe's *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten* [3]; of Davies's *Tomb of Antefoker* [11]; of Peet's *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* [22]; of Gardiner and Sethe's *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* [39]; and of Sir Herbert Thompson's *Family Archive from Siut* [47].

The last-named work deals with a series of demotic texts. Gunn had long given his attention to demotic and to the related but very obscure texts written in a peculiar script to which Griffith gave the name of 'abnormal hieratic'. He not only made demotic texts the object of his personal studies, but also read them with some of his pupils.

<sup>1</sup> See, however, the remarks of Sir Alan Gardiner, below.

Gunn's valuable library has been acquired by the University of Durham, now an important Egyptological centre since the extensive collection of antiquities from Alnwick Castle was transferred there by the Duke of Northumberland. His manuscripts, scientific papers, and notebooks, Gunn bequeathed to the University of Oxford for preservation in the Griffith Institute attached to the Ashmolean Museum. Concerning these manuscripts, Sir Alan Gardiner has been kind enough to send me the following note:

As was to be expected from a scholar of Gunn's calibre and industry, the manuscript remains which have now passed into the possession of the Griffith Institute are of very great value. There are a number of notebooks and boxes of slips containing references to grammatical words and constructions from all phases of the Egyptian language, including Coptic. These often betray Gunn's trend of thought, but unfortunately his conclusions and arguments are nowhere explicitly stated. Nevertheless, this material will be of the greatest service both in teaching and for future research. There are many copies, squeezes and photographs of unpublished inscriptions, graffiti, &c., many emanating from his long sojourn in Saqqara, but also some from other sites and from various Museums. In less satisfactory condition are the beginnings of articles never completed, translations not finally revised and so forth; but from these a diligent and skilful editor could construct essays of great originality and interest. The most important material of the kind consists of transcriptions, commentaries and correspondence concerning the famous Hekanakhte papyri found by Winlock at Thebes, letters and other documents of the Eleventh Dynasty mainly dealing with agricultural affairs at that little-known period. Happily, steps are already being taken to prepare for publication this long-awaited monograph.

Gunn received the honorary degree of M.A. of Oxford and the Fellowship of the Queen's College; he was elected in 1934 Fellow of the British Academy. By his passing, scholarship has lost a brilliant luminary, and his pupils and colleagues a kind and trusty friend. He died at Oxford after a long illness, 27 February 1950.

WARREN R. DAWSON

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of the works of Battiscombe Gunn

## ABBREVIATIONS

*ASA.* = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo.*BIF.* = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale*. Cairo.*BUP.* = *Bulletin of the University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia.*JEA.* = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London.*RT.* = *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*. Paris.*ZÄS.* = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipsic.

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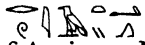
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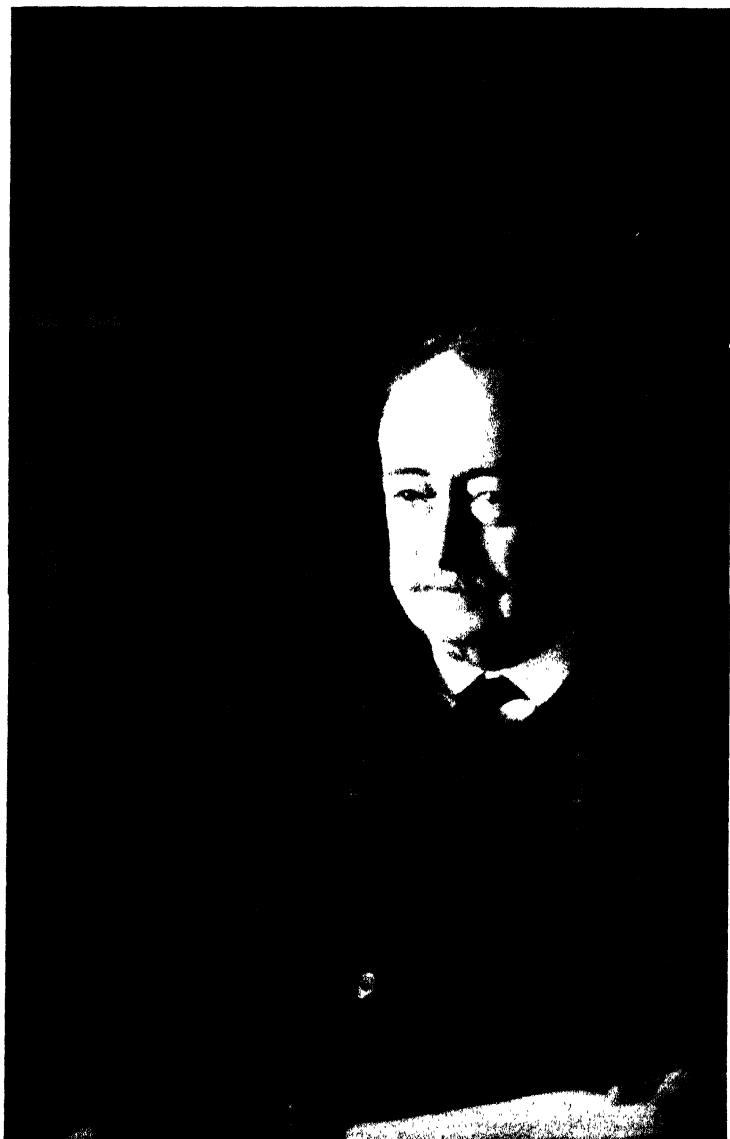
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PLATE 2



SIR GEORGE F. HILL

## GEORGE FRANCIS HILL

1867-1948

GEORGE FRANCIS HILL was little of stature: his head large and well proportioned with a remarkable forehead, a favourite subject for the medallists and draughtsmen among his friends; his hands and feet particularly small; dark hair and eyes and olive skin, coming perhaps from a Portuguese ancestor; a gentle voice and charming smile. He had been an ailing child and all his life he suffered from a weak back, which came in the end to show a slight curvature.

He was born in India on 22 December 1867, the son of the Rev. Samuel John and Leonora Josephine Hill, 'a birthday present to my father' as he puts it in some scattered autobiographical notes put together in 1946 in his still firm and beautiful hand. He was the youngest of five children, four of them boys; and his father, a missionary of the London Missionary Society, was stationed at Berhampore, Bengal. Samuel Hill was a man of high integrity and strict principle: so strict that when circumstances compelled his wife to leave India for good and to settle in England, he felt that his place was still at Berhampore. For they had come to believe that English children should not grow up in India nor yet be entirely cut off from both parents, and had decided that the mother should take her youngest child, then four years old, back to England and there make a home for the family.

It was a heavy choice [to quote the notes again] and they took it. My father could not bring himself to leave his work; and my mother, devoted as she was to him, parted from him to take care of her children in England. Always there was the hope of his coming home, but they were never to see each other again. His devotion to his task, more as a teacher than as a converter to Christianity (I think his actual converts could have been counted on the fingers of his hand) was exemplary; to many 'Rishi' Hill was something of a saint and weeping crowds followed him to the grave.

The inheritance on the mother's side was in some ways more remarkable. Leonora Josephine, born Müller, came of European stock permanently rooted in India, as was sometimes the way at the beginning of the last century. Her grandfather, according to family tradition, was a Danish optical instrument-maker with an established position at Copenhagen where he did much work for court circles. On the threshold of middle

life he suddenly threw up a successful business to go to sea, and, after an adventurous period passed on the Coromandel Coast, not always, maybe, within the law, he married an heiress from Goa and settled there for the rest of his life. It is not perhaps over fanciful to trace the mingled strains of this diverse inheritance, physical as well as mental, showing through in the younger generation: on the one side a deep conscientiousness and integrity, manifested now especially in the intellectual sphere; on the other a bent to science and mathematics joined to the precision of the skilled craftsman. All four boys, but particularly Micaiah the eldest and George the youngest, attained distinction in the worlds of science or learning. Micaiah, a notable mathematician, Professor at University College, London, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, 'would have won', as his brother notes, 'a great name in mathematics, but being the most conscientious of men, devoted himself to University and College affairs in such a degree as to leave himself little time or energy for research'. The same gifts of order and precision were leading qualities in the subject of this memoir; and, though his adventures were rather of the mind, there was still lurking, a little unexpectedly, something of the spirit which drove his ancestor from Copenhagen to Coromandel, to turn him more and more from classical antiquity to Italy and the Renaissance in middle life, and to land him in old age on the coasts of Cyprus: in little things too, to take one instance, to urge him at the age of sixty to his first riding lesson.

On her arrival in England his mother first settled at Blackheath. Life was bare, not to say austere. George, like his brothers before him, was sent to the School for the Sons of Missionaries, later Eltham College. It was a failure. The boy learnt nothing and was miserable. It was not till he had passed on to University College School, where he met the stimulus of intelligent teaching, that the clouds began to lift. It is interesting that in his school days he showed a distinct leaning towards natural science which crystallized into a life-long interest in geology. This tendency was something of a disappointment to the Headmaster, H. W. Eve, who confided to Micaiah, now a Professor at the College, 'your little brother will never be good for anything'.

From the School he passed in due course to University College with an Andrews scholarship ('the competition must have been poor for I remember in the Latin Unseen when it said "*dux paludamentum scissit*" I translated "the general cut

across the marsh''!). Other entrants of his year were Gregory Foster and Frank Heath, both to be close friends, and Mary Paul to whom he soon became informally engaged and whom he married ten years later. Here the Professors with whom he came most in contact were Alfred Goodwin, Alfred Church, and Henry Morley. Of the two last he was more than critical and in this connexion he has recorded a characteristic anecdote:

Church, the well-known translator of Tacitus, was quite past work. He used actually to go to sleep in class while we were construing. So disgusted were we with his neglect of his duties that we (and I fear I was the ringleader) got up a petition to the authorities asking that something should be done. I can still see the grubby piece of paper which we presented. I was sent for by the Secretary and had my knuckles rapped; but Church resigned next year.

For Goodwin, however, he had the greatest respect and admiration, and his teaching was a prime factor in the boy's development. It was Goodwin who first opened his eyes through the Elgin marbles to the beauties of Greek sculpture, and Goodwin who arranged for him to break off his course at University College and go up to Oxford. After attempts on Brasenose and Balliol he obtained an exhibition at Merton College; and, with some assistance from his eldest brother, for money was still a difficulty, he went into residence in 1888.

It was now that he began to show his true quality. His first class in Honour Moderations was won in 1889 (apparently for the first time) after two terms, instead of the customary five; the same class in Greats, two years and a term later. Hill's undergraduate interests seem to have leant as much toward philosophy as to history; and we even find him, immediately after Schools, lecturing for his college on Aristotle. Very soon, however, he was working at archaeology again under Professor Percy Gardner, to whom he had been given an introduction, no doubt by Goodwin, when he went up; and under the same auspices he took his first steps in numismatics. When early in 1893 a hoped-for fellowship had passed him by and a vacancy occurred at the British Museum in the Department of Coins and Medals, on Gardner's advice he stood for the post. He was not only successful but incidentally made a lifelong friend of one of the unsuccessful candidates, now Sir Charles Peers.

Hill took up his appointment in April 1893, and in 1897 he at length obtained the consent of Mary Paul's parents to their marriage. His wife, who was some years the elder, while sharing in some degree her husband's interests (she translated

a work of T. Reinach on Jewish coins to which he contributed an introduction), occupied herself mainly with the organization of social work. She was the first Secretary of the Poor Law Examinations Board and long connected with the Charity Organization Society. They had no children, and she devoted herself to him. Her death in 1924 left him to great loneliness in which his friends at first found it difficult to help him till the society of his brother's children came to fill the gap.

The outline of Hill's subsequent career can be briefly given. In 1912 he became Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals. Through the First World War he kept the Medal Room going practically single-handed, towards the end of it supervising the removal of the collection of over 500 cabinets (packed with his own careful hands) to the safety of the Post Office Tube. In 1931 he succeeded Sir Frederic Kenyon in the Directorship of the Museum, receiving a K.C.B. in 1933. He was the first archaeologist to hold the position, which had always hitherto been filled by a librarian, but extensive knowledge of the literary departments saved him from shifting the balance too sharply to the other side. He had always considered that a great Museum should take care to secure the big things and the small ones would take care of themselves. In accordance with this policy two outstanding events of his Directorship were the acquisition of the *Codex Sinaiticus* (a great anxiety), to further which a national campaign was organized; and, jointly with the Victoria and Albert Museum, of the extensive and magnificent Eumorfopoulos Collection of Oriental antiquities. A serious problem inherited from his predecessor was the proper handling of the generous donation by Sir Joseph (later Lord) Duveen of a building to house the Elgin marbles. Hill soon realized that the views of the donor and his architect by no means coincided with those of himself and his colleagues; and it was with difficulty that the original design was abandoned for one in which the marbles and not the architecture of the building were to be the main object of attention. The affair was still unfinished when he retired and it was left to Sir John Forsdyke to round off a satisfactory compromise. Minor but revealing acts of his office were the attempts to beautify the façade of the Museum with a row of almond trees flowering in season along the breadth of the forecourt, and with bay trees in tubs between the columns. The first he had conceived long ago as a young Assistant, and it is sad that unsuitable soil and the stress of war brought both of them to nothing. A permanent addition to the amenities of

the Museum, however, was the opening of the Colonnade to the public, with the provision of seats and permission to smoke outside the building. His retirement took place in 1936. His friends had noticed a slight flagging in his energies. He was tired and glad to be out of harness. He retired; to become in his seventies the author of a monumental history of Cyprus from the earliest times down to the present day, in four closely written volumes, the last of which was found in manuscript, practically ready, after his death in 1948, and will appear shortly.

In view of these so varied interests (he records that there was no department of the Museum, the Egyptian and the Oriental Printed Books only excepted, in which he had not done some sort of research), it is a little difficult to remember that he was first of all a numismatist and that his official life was mainly spent among Greek coins. He had entered the Medal Room at a fortunate hour for ancient numismatics. Barclay Head, after Eckhel the second founder of the science, had just succeeded to the Keepership. His compendious but encyclopaedic *Historia Numorum*, the Bible of Greek numismatics as it has been called, had appeared in 1887 and was bringing home to scholars the multifarious contribution that the study of coins could make to ancient history, art, and religion. The Medal Room was acquiring an international reputation as a centre of research—so much that Willamowitz was soon to speak of numismatics as ‘the English science’—and its members were in the closest touch with their leading continental colleagues: men like Imhoof Blumer, J. P. Six, and Ernest Babelon. True that the foundation of the Roman catalogue, later to become so important, was already being laid by H. A. Grueber, while a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, E. J. Rapson, a close friend of Hill’s, presided over the Oriental section. The fact remained that little more than routine work was done otherwise than among Greek coins, the resources of the Department being concentrated on the pioneer series of Greek Catalogues, inaugurated in 1873 by R. Stuart Poole (whose retirement had produced the vacancy that Hill came to fill), and continued with the help of Head and Warwick Wroth. Hill was at once put to reinforce these two at the same task. Volume on volume had been appearing with commendable rapidity, and the Catalogue was now travelling round the shores of Asia Minor. Hill’s first assignment was the difficult one of Lycia (published in 1897). From this land of half-hellenized barbarians, speaking an unknown tongue, his



official work took him ever farther towards the borders of the civilized world, through Cyprus (a lasting interest), Cilicia, Phoenicia, and Palestine to Arabia and the Persian gulf; finally by a sudden somersault to the extreme West and Spain: the Spanish catalogue was cut short by his promotion to the Directorship. All the time he was improving the form of these publications by increasing the number of coins reproduced and the amount of illustrative material from other collections, but especially by elaborating the introductions, so that in the end each one became in effect a monograph on its subject. It was work that offered special scope for that combination of meticulous accuracy with breadth of view which was particularly his own. Yet it was surely with some regret that he found his work thus bearing him away from the centre of things, in which six books, the formidable *parerga* of the thirteen years, 1897 to 1909, stand to show his remarkable grasp and range.<sup>1</sup>

He did not actually visit Greece until 1928, when he went in company with his friends the Ashmoles, and the comment in his notes is revealing:

It was a very fortunate dispensation which introduced me to Italy before Greece, and enabled me to place the latter in its true perspective, and to realise its immense intellectual superiority in all fields of culture. The emotional effect of the Acropolis of Athens was such as might have been made by some work of art in which the highest powers of mathematics and poetry had somehow combined to produce one incomparable masterpiece.

Meanwhile this preoccupation with the periphery of ancient culture perhaps fanned his rising enthusiasm for the history and art of Medieval and Renaissance Italy. The earliest impulse in this direction had come in the course of departmental routine work; but ample opportunities for such studies were soon to be provided by regular visits to his parents-in-law (one a good Dante scholar) who spent much time in Italy and eventually settled in Rome. His friendship with the brothers Max and Maurice Rosenheim, two notable collectors, was also a powerful stimulus; and he used to tell of regular Saturday lunches at the Café Royal with them and other friends like Colonel Croft Lyons, where the latest treasures were passed round and dis-

<sup>1</sup> *Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars* (1897), *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (1899), *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (1901, with E. L. Hicks), *Coins of Ancient Sicily* (1903), *Historical Greek Coins and Historical Roman Coins* (1906 and 1909). For the next three years he was also revising Head's *Historia Numorum* for a second edition.

cussed. The first step was a brief article on Italian medals for *Knowledge* in 1896. Soon a series of scholarly notes began to appear in various journals, after 1904 principally in the *Burlington Magazine*. His work on medals included a volume on Italian Medals of the Renaissance, the outcome of the Rhind Lectures which he delivered in Edinburgh in 1915; and culminated in the *Corpus of Italian Medals before Benevenuto Cellini*, two noble volumes published in folio by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1930. Through the medals, and particularly those of Pisanello, he came to the study and appreciation of drawings;<sup>1</sup> for the proper understanding of this great medallist required a study of his work as painter and draughtsman. It was thus that the idea came to him of a Society for the publication of Old Master drawings, and his enthusiasm was largely responsible for the launching of the Vasari Society in 1905. His monograph on Pisanello appeared in 1905,<sup>2</sup> and a volume of drawings in 1929.

Another field into which these studies lured him was that of Italian heraldry, iconography, and kindred subjects. He collected coats of arms, badges, and mottoes with passionate enthusiasm and took great pleasure in the careful coloured drawings which he made of them. These collections, which are of great value for the subject, are now deposited in the British Museum, the heraldic in the Department of Manuscripts (with a duplicate set in the Warburg Institute), the iconographic in the Print Room. Besides his scholarship Hill had a strongly practical side. There can be hardly a journal nearly touching his interests, the *Numismatic Chronicle*, for example, *Hellenic Journal*, or *Burlington Magazine*, of which he was not at some time an editor. In the administration of Treasure Trove, on which subject he wrote the standard work, he planned, and finally brought about, a remarkable change in favour of the finder, which should go far to prevent the concealment and clandestine disposal of finds. As Secretary of the Archaeological Joint Committee from its inception in 1920 he had been concerned with the drafting of an Antiquities Law for Iraq and for Palestine. In 1934 he was commissioned to report on the Cyprus

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my colleague Mr. A. E. Popham for kindly giving me a note on this subject.

<sup>2</sup> This was reprinted in 1912, with a new title-page and date but otherwise unaltered. In the meantime much new material had come to light. It should be put on record that the reprint took place without any reference to the author, who bitterly resented the slur cast on his scholarship by its apparent omissions.

Museum and the administration of the island's Antiquities Law. He travelled there with Sir Charles Peers and other friends and his recommendations resulted in a new Law and a greatly improved organization. He devoted much time and thought to fostering the modern medal, and served for long on the Mint Advisory Committee. He was also closely involved in the practical details of the production of the commemorative plaque given to the next of kin of all those who fell in the First World War. Besides all this, various bodies, learned and otherwise, claimed his help on their councils, from the Society of Antiquaries to the Anti-Noise League (now, alas, defunct) which he had helped to promote.

It was a life of tireless activity, its output doubled by system and order; in which patient attention to detail never hindered him from seeing the wood however many the trees. The same qualities were carried over into trivial day-to-day affairs. Who else would have recorded year after year, in a special book, as they came in, the amounts of even the smallest dividends received, before and after tax? To travel with him, especially abroad, was a restful experience. Routes were planned in closest detail and the times of trains carefully noted with alternatives in case of emergency. There was of course another side to this, and he remarked one day a little ruefully that for him the idea of foreign travel had a cathartic tendency; 'I have only to take the Continental Bradshaw in hand . . .'.

His nature was unusually sensitive, deeply moved by beauty whether in poetry, music, or the visual arts; and of very human sympathies. I remember a performance of *Macbeth* at which he showed signs of distress in the fourth act and I thought he must be ill. 'I'm sorry,' he said, 'Macduff and his pretty ones—it *always* makes me cry.' Children he loved, the more for having none of his own. He was always at ease with them and they with him. Under the date 1910 in his bibliography there appears, sandwiched between *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia* and *Notes on the Mediaeval Medals of Constantine*, the entry *The Truth about old King Cole, and other very Natural Histories*. His kindness to the young, too, was unfailing and he would take endless pains to help in the early stage of their studies. He had been among the first to realize the quality of such artists as Skeaping and Barbara Hepworth; and the small but choice collection which he formed in later years contained particularly fine examples of the drawings of the one and of the other's sculpture. It was a great grief when he felt compelled by the difficulty

of life after the war to leave his house in Sussex Place, where his friends will remember the music parties and the quiet evenings overlooking Regent's Park, and to disperse the greater part of his library and collections.

His humour, mixed now and again with an astringent dash of malice, was characteristic. One instance must suffice. He told with quiet enjoyment of an incident at the Garden Party following the Encaenia at which his University had conferred on him an honorary degree. Among other distinguished guests were André Maurois and a politician, of whom his opinion was not high. The latter, deceived perhaps by Hill's slightly foreign appearance, came up to him and addressed him in French with a florid compliment on his literary work. Hill replied in character, and a long and stilted conversation ensued in the same language till he turned to other friends and dismissed his admirer who withdrew with a slightly puzzled air. The picture would not be complete without a reference to a strain of deep pessimism which appeared now and again in his outlook. A sheet of his notes written in 1947 was to the Sophoclean text μή φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον; and he could even add 'I have had nothing to record in the way of intellectual or spiritual growth. I am unable to narrate, as many seem able to do, how even during my school days I was grappling with major philosophical or religious problems. I suppose I did discuss such matters with my friends; but, if so, I have, perhaps fortunately, forgotten what I, and they, said.' This is the other side of his emotional sensibility. He must have been very vulnerable as a boy, and it was a bleak wind that blew through the intellectual circles of his youth.

He was among the most modest of men, unwilling to trust his judgement in anything that he did not know to the bottom, and diffident. Even in 1946 he could write in a moment of despondency:

I realise my work has never been quite in the first class . . . my Greek and Latin have become terribly rusty. . . . Instead of sticking to Homer, Aeschylus or Vergil, I have spent my time verifying references in Strabo, Suidas or Pliny and the *Historia Augusta*. More and more the knowledge which I have acquired has become of the card-index type. I have learnt not to know things, but to know where to refer to about them. I hope, nevertheless, that my mind is not like a sort of fly-paper to which the facts stick and promptly die.

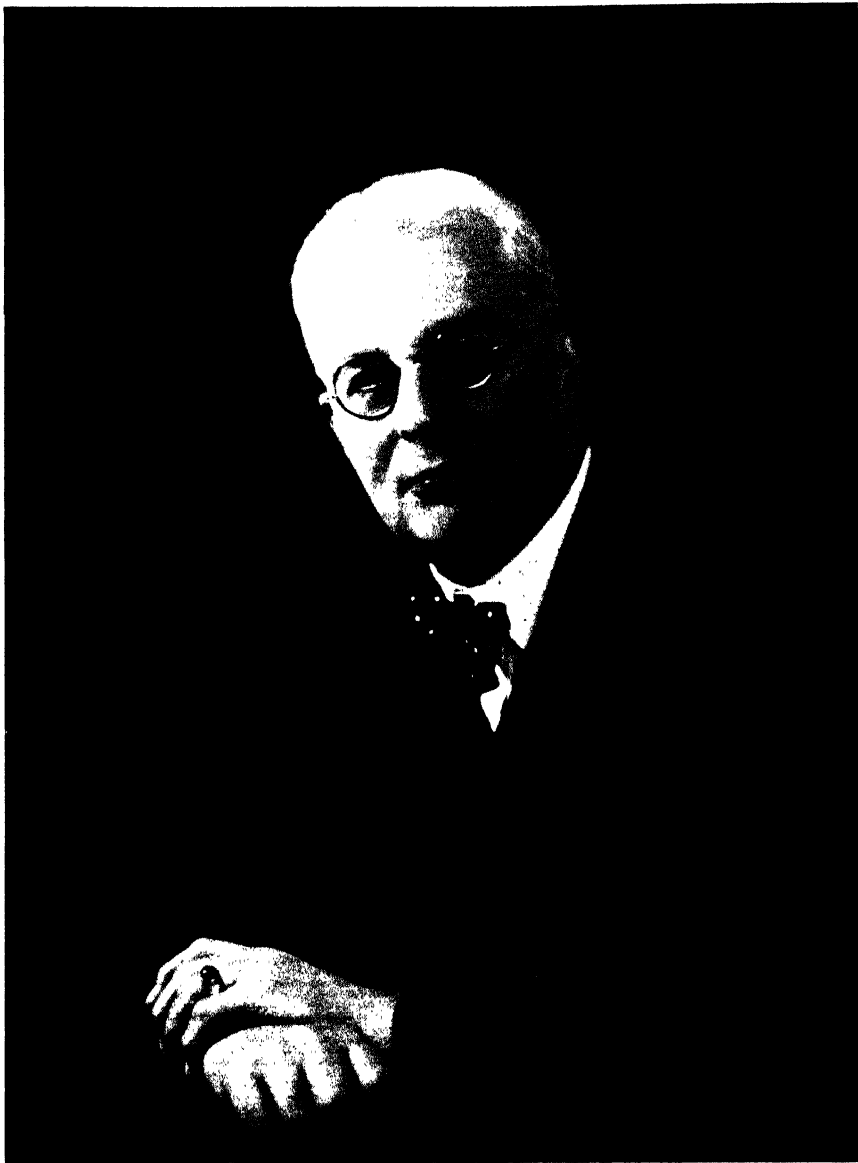
It was not, and his work remains to refute the depreciatory estimate. The learned world everywhere combined to honour

his eightieth birthday: through the Hellenic Society by a volume dedicated to him, through the Royal Numismatic Society by the publication of a complete Bibliography, which brings home, as nothing else can, his varied interests and his prodigious output.

E. S. G. ROBINSON



PLATE 3



BASIL WILLIAMS

*Photograph by Lafayette*

## BASIL WILLIAMS

1867-1950

ARTHUR FREDERIC BASIL WILLIAMS was the eldest child, and the only son, of Frederick George Adolphus Williams, barrister-at-law, and Mary Katharine Lemon, daughter of an eminent London solicitor whose family firm still flourishes. Though this bare fact might lead one to think of him as a Londoner, a member of one of those thousands of middle-class country families which lost all their local colour in Victorian London, that was not how he thought of himself. His father long looked upon east Somerset as his home, and Basil Williams himself could remember 'the rich well-watered country, . . . cattle moving about meadows pied with buttercups, the lush grass reaching up to their bellies'. In his old age he drew up a family history, reaching back to his father's Lockyer ancestors around Ilchester in the late seventeenth century. This was not a mere amusement, nor even a mere act of piety. He believed in the inheritance or the transmission of human wisdom by means of family tradition. In his *Life of Chatham* he thus describes his hero's ancestors:

While these Dorsetshire Pitts had been gradually establishing a family tradition of public spirit and energy in local matters, and sharpening by constant practice their inborn practical temperament, they were also silently gathering strength for the great task of producing men of the same strain as themselves but with that added touch of genius needed to extend their sound principles of public life to the whole English commonwealth. For experience seems to show that genius is no mere *lusus naturae*, but must spring from a land well tilled and cared for in the previous generations: and unless the land is exceptionally rich and prolific, the production of one genius apparently exhausts it.

This may not be exactly scientific, but it was very real to Basil Williams. He even considered the study of ancestors to have a value in practical morality: in the preface to his family memoir, which he addressed to his sons, he gives this reason for deploring the fact that they never knew his parents:

From them too you would have learned more of your forbears on my side than I, perhaps, have been able to tell you: and so been helped to develop the good strain to be found in them and avoid their faults, both of which are apt to reproduce themselves in later generations.



His father was a rather unsuccessful barrister, who lived by law reporting and editing legal text-books; a Liberal turned Conservative, whose deep admiration for Garibaldi was succeeded by an equally deep suspicion of Gladstone; a talented performer on the cornet, who first made his wife's acquaintance as the conductor of a small private glee club. She, by contrast, was Liberal, even Radical in politics; she served on School Board committees and working-class housing associations, took a practical interest in the higher education of women, and verged on unitarianism in religion. Late Victorian London contained hundreds or thousands of households such as this; but both father and mother must have been, in their way, remarkable people, and the impression they left upon their son was deep and lasting. The father's conversations on walks and bicycle rides; their weekly letters, which he kept till his old age; the tastes for continental travel and the Alps, which he derived from them, even adhering in some instances to his father's itineraries—all this sank into his mind and stayed there. Although they were both dead before he was twenty-two, he never ceased to think of them as the great influence of his life. In the preface to his *Life of Chatham*, published in 1913, he wrote:

I feel, however, that it is not merely from books and manuscripts that one can learn to appreciate Chatham. If this book has any merit, it is due less to them than to the example of my Father and Mother, and to my good fortune in having had some experience of military and civil affairs.

Even later, a passage in his *Stanhope*, evidently written *con amore* on the companionship of fathers and sons, shows that he had not yet, at sixty-five, forgotten his own father.

One other thing, which it is relevant to mention, he inherited from his parents. His father, somewhat late in life, came into possession of the remains of a large fortune, mostly squandered in earlier generations. Basil Williams, therefore, had private means of his own, which enabled him to choose and change his career at will (a liberty of which, as will be seen, he took advantage more than once). It also enabled him to pursue the career of historian without holding any academic post till he was past fifty. This must have been a somewhat unusual state of affairs even before 1914. Today it would be a matter of wonder that work so highly professional as some of his early articles could be turned out by an 'amateur'.

He went to school at Marlborough, and hoped to proceed to

Trinity College, Cambridge, of which his father was a devoted son; but he fell ill at the time of the examination, and had to content himself with a scholarship at New College, Oxford. Among his friends there was H. W. B. Joseph; another Oxford friendship with H. H. Joachim was not a new beginning but a revival, for it went back to preparatory school.

Having taken his degree with a First Class in Honour Moderations and a Second in 'Greats', he obtained (perhaps through the influence of his parents' friend Leonard Courtney) a clerkship in the House of Commons. This position suited him well. The long parliamentary recesses gave time for travel and mountain-climbing: Basil Williams's travels were not so strange and adventurous as the cruises of his friend and fellow clerk Erskine Childers, but they made him familiar with most of the countries of Western and central Europe. No doubt he also took time for historical research, which must have occupied his mind already, for his articles in the *English Historical Review*, published in 1900-1, reveal him a mature and accomplished scholar. The clerkship offered not only leisure but excitement. It brought him close to the intense parliamentary life of the 1890's, one of the great ages of House of Commons debate. He took politics seriously, as two later candidatures for parliament show. The toriyism which he had shared with his father was changing, or soon to change, towards something more like his mother's liberalism.

An incident which happened in 1896 must have influenced his career. He had the duty of attending the parliamentary committee which examined Cecil Rhodes's complicity in the Jameson Raid. Rhodes, according to Basil Williams's testimony, dominated the committee and the public when he appeared as a witness; and he electrified Basil Williams himself, who conceived a deep, though not altogether indiscriminate, admiration for him and was later to write his biography. Even allowing for the imperialist mood of the time, which pervaded both parties, there is something a little surprising in this admiration: Basil Williams was stouthearted enough, but no swashbuckler—yet he had a weakness for personal magnetism, however employed, which comes out in the biographical studies to be discussed later. Nowhere, perhaps, more than in the biography of Rhodes himself, at the end of which he speaks of 'the gift of dominating personality, which most interests the world, regardless of whether its owner succeeds or fails', and illustrates his point by a comparison between Gibbon and Chatham: 'Gibbon

remains merely a man who wrote a great book, while Chatham, apart from any action, remains a supreme personality.'

Basil Williams's own South African adventures were to begin soon afterwards, for he volunteered for the South African War. He was already a member of the Honourable Artillery Company. He had the good fortune to take with him his close friend and fellow clerk Childers. This seems to have turned the whole campaign into a private lark for him: instead of sleeping in the bell-tent with eleven other soldiers, the two dosed out together under the guns, playing piquet with a greasy pack of cards and talking of all things under the sun. They enjoyed 'the jolly democratic company of the rank and file'; according to Basil Williams, they had gone out as hide-bound Tories, but now began, under this influence, to adopt more liberal ideas. So much, indeed, did they enjoy it that they made it last as long as they could. Basil Williams, in his memoir of Childers, praises him because 'when the battery was sent home and he might have obtained his discharge at Capetown and come home in comfort on a liner, he preferred to stick to the battery to the end and return on a crowded and most uncomfortable transport'. He omits to mention the fact, which we know from other sources, that he, too, came home on the transport.

This military experience remained in his mind, and makes an appearance from time to time in footnotes to his historical works: thus, in a note on the battle of Dettingen in his *Life of Chatham*, he compares the French dispositions with those of the Boers at Sanna's Post—a comparison which is, to our age, *obscurum per obscurius*; and, later still, he compares Stanhope with Kitchener at Paardeberg, 'shoving the men up into battle as if it were into a football squash'. These little touches of reminiscence may not mean very much to a later generation; but they show what he meant when he claimed, in the preface to his *Life of Chatham*, that his ability to write history was enhanced by his 'good fortune in having had some experience of military and civil affairs'.

The whole adventure lasted little more than a year, and he returned to his post at the House of Commons. He occupied his spare time in yachting with Childers and preparing a record of *The H.A.C. in South Africa*. From this safe career he was called away, perhaps by a sense of duty and a desire for a more active career, perhaps by a mere misunderstanding. He was persuaded by one of Lord Milner's private secretaries, home on leave from South Africa, that a responsible and important post was waiting

for him there. This may have been, in principle, true, for Milner's 'Kindergarten' offered all sorts of opportunities to young men who knew how to use power when it was put into their hands. But in this particular instance, no arrangements had been made, and when Basil Williams arrived, having thrown up a safe job at home, nobody knew exactly what to do with him; nor was he disposed to act as a bottlewasher. For a time he was assigned to Lionel Curtis, then Town Clerk of Johannesburg; afterwards he moved on to the education department. In both these posts he made himself very useful with his knowledge of official methods, which most of his colleagues lacked. But, for some reason or other, he was not the man for that time and place. Perhaps he was too rigid, perhaps even too old (for it was the under thirties who flourished best in this, the last outburst of violent creation that the British Commonwealth has known). After three years, when a violent campaign of government retrenchment began in the Transvaal, Basil Williams was among the axed. This highly unpleasant experience showed him at his best. He did not lose his interest in South Africa or his love for it; indeed he contrived, soon afterwards, to revisit it as correspondent for *The Times*, and thus reported the discussions which led to the adoption of the Union constitution. When, moreover, some English newspapers started a campaign, which he considered unjustifiable, against the men who, as it happened, had been responsible for his dismissal, it was Basil Williams who wrote to defend them and to testify to their characters.

In many respects this misfortune was no misfortune at all. Although he did not lose interest in politics—especially imperial politics—he began from this date to turn towards the writing of history as his main career. He also married, in 1905, Miss Dorothy Caulfeild, who bore him two sons and later added very greatly to the success of his professorial career by her grace as a hostess.

His attention seems to have been drawn, from the first, to the study of the eighteenth century. His earliest important publication was a series of five articles in the *English Historical Review* (1900-1) on the foreign policy of Walpole's earlier years. These articles (which had to be seen through the press by a friend because the author was fighting in South Africa) are still, after fifty years, the principal work on the subject; there cannot be many articles in the *Review* which have worn so long or so well. They show, like much of his other work, a sense of Europe as a

whole though, of course, they approach Europe from the British standpoint—a failing (if failing it is) which caused a recent American scholar to label them in his bibliography, by a strange malapropism, as ‘strongly Anglican’.

They were followed in 1913 by a much greater work, the *Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*. This too is still the best book on the subject. It is not a perfect book, for it suffers a little from the *lues Boswelliana*. This temptation is, of course, inseparable from the biographical method of treatment (and much of Basil Williams’s best work was biographical). But there is more to it than that. Much of the historical writing of the Edwardian age was written under the influence of national pride (for example, the histories of British sea-power which came out in a period of naval rivalries), and Basil Williams was touched by this patriotic glow which later disappeared from British professional historiography between the first and second world wars. He was not a jingo: his pride was not offensive, strident, or even unreasonable. But it was there; and Chatham, the victorious war minister, symbolized to him all that was proudest and noblest in British history.

Moreover, there was something about the heroic, or even the energetic, which always attracted him. He found it in a number of eighteenth-century figures, great and small. ‘One need only read Smollett and Fielding’, he wrote in his much later book, *The Whig Supremacy*, ‘or look at Hogarth’s pictures, to see what richly diversified and what independent, self-relying characters were to be found scattered all over this England of ours, some indeed unpleasant but all of them full of juice.’ He never minded the unpleasantness, provided the ‘juice’ was there. After Chatham himself, his favourite member of the Pitt family seems to have been Chatham’s tempestuous grandfather, whom many historians would simply have dismissed as an insupportable old ruffian, bully and bore. He admired Stanhope not only for his broad European outlook, but perhaps even more for his furious energy in dashing about Europe, drinking and begetting children at high speed. In his book on *Carteret and Newcastle* he over-pointed the contrast between the two men, because he so much enjoyed the sweeping, knockabout gestures of the one and had so little sympathy for the fumbling and trembling of the other. He hardly asked himself if there was really more common sense in Carteret’s policy than in Newcastle’s; and, with his usual generous desire to take in good part the behaviour of those whom he admired, he gave Stanhope

credit for having been a 'good European' without examining, as closely as he might have done, an alternative interpretation of Stanhope's policy which would represent it as Hanoverian rather than European. When he was dealing with Stanhope and Carteret, this propensity did not lead him far astray: both men had straightforward characters, and their limitations were, for the most part, too obvious to be ignored—for no historian of Basil Williams's intelligence could delude himself into thinking that Stanhope was a good general or Carteret a successful politician. But with Chatham he let himself go; and it happens that Chatham, though possibly not a subtle man himself (for that is an open question), demands a great deal of subtlety from his biographer—the internal strains and contradictions of his character, which brought him more than once to the verge of madness, are proof enough of that. Subtlety was hardly compatible with the unstinted admiration which Basil Williams bestowed upon his character in general. Therefore, though his errors on the side of idolatry are probably not so serious as von Ruville's errors on the side of denigration, yet he missed seeing some things that von Ruville saw, and neither of them is the perfect biographer. Basil Williams's book, however, is something more than a biography; it is one of the most readable and reliable pictures we possess of the political history of Great Britain between 1740 and 1763.

Even in his historical work, he by no means gave himself over entirely to the eighteenth century. His taste for the heroic, and perhaps the memory of a deep and early impression led him to write a biography of Cecil Rhodes. This, again, is probably the best book on the subject. It is by no means unadulterated hero-worship. He saw Rhodes as 'a faulty hero'; but a hero still. He was fascinated, as he confessed, by Rhodes's 'bigness'; he seems to have assumed, as Rhodes himself assumed, that this 'bigness' constituted what a historian must, after all reservations made, pronounce to be greatness. Therefore, though the book was written *sine ira et studio*, and is by no means an imperialistic tract, yet it hardly takes sufficient account of the possibility—to say no more—that Rhodes's career could be interpreted from beginning to end in a much less favourable light.

While he was writing these biographies Basil Williams was able to devote much of his time to politics. He stood for parliament, as a Liberal, twice in 1910. Like his friend Childers, he was much preoccupied by the Irish problem. They took

part in an unofficial committee which studied the details of a possible scheme of Home Rule and brought out a collection of papers on the subject in 1911. He did not, however, follow Childers into the paths of extremism, and he deplored his friend's growing obsession with this subject. They did their best to keep alive their friendship and that of their families; but it became harder and harder for Basil Williams, the 'moderate', to dispel Childers's monomania, even for a few moments, by reviving the memories of the past. Yet Childers, on the day he was to be shot, sent Basil Williams his love; and Basil Williams, two years later, reciprocated this love, by writing a delightful memoir of Childers. He summed up Childers's character by declaring that 'there was no particle of meanness or treachery' in it, and that 'whatever course of action he adopted—however we may deplore the judgement—it was based on the prompting of a conscience and sense of honour as sensitive and as true as one may meet'.

Before Childers's catastrophe, Basil Williams's own career had taken a new turn—indeed, more than one. He responded at once to the emergency of 1914 by organizing the relief of Belgian refugees. Later in the war, he served as a captain in the Royal Field Artillery and took an active part in army education. He seems to have resumed his political interests and his preoccupation with Ireland after the war; but at last academic life began to claim him. In 1921 he delivered the Ford Lectures in the University of Oxford; from these lectures sprang two of his later books on *Stanhope* and on *Carteret and Newcastle*. In the same year he went to McGill University as Professor of History; and in 1925 he was called back across the Atlantic to succeed Sir Richard Lodge at Edinburgh. It was an obvious choice, for their historical interests were very similar.

He was not an exciting lecturer: middle-aged men do not come up to one in the streets of Edinburgh and tell one, with a glow of pleasure, that they sat under Williams, as they tell one that they sat under Lodge. But he did much for the Edinburgh history school in other ways. He was not content to carry on Lodge's system without change, but innovated to some purpose; in particular, he brought the study of European history into greater prominence, and he would have liked, had he been given the opportunity, to widen the range of choice in other directions, such as American history. An examination of old minute-books shows that he was active, and generally on the right side.

He is best remembered in Edinburgh today for his hospitality. Many people in Edinburgh gave good parties; but there seems to have been something special about the Williamses' parties in Drummond Place. It may have been Mrs. Williams's charm; perhaps also the somewhat unconventional mixture of the company, for one went prepared to meet people out of one's own department and walk of life.

In these later years Basil Williams put forth a remarkable quantity of historical work. In 1932 he amplified his Ford Lectures into a biography of Stanhope. This is, in some ways, his best book: it has the warmth of his earlier biography of Chatham, but a better balance, and it succeeds in doing something almost impossible—in making the European diplomacy of that age appear lucid and important. His *Whig Supremacy* (1939), a volume in the Oxford History, is, by contrast, the work of an old man. He wrote it with gusto, but he clearly had not taken much account of the recent work in the field. One would not say he had not read it, but it had not sunk in; indeed, he did not think very much of it. I criticized this omission in a review; soon afterwards we met, and he let me know, with perfect good humour, that he was not at all convinced by what I had said. He went on writing; and his last big work in this field, *Carteret and Newcastle* (1943), is a highly animated portrait—or rather, pair of portraits—but it does not advance the study of the subject much farther. He had made up his mind about these people before 1914, and he had not seen occasion to change it.

He still kept up his historical interest in South Africa as well: besides a little book in the Home University Library on *The British Empire*, he wrote, as late as 1946, a short study on *Botha, Smuts and South Africa*. In it he drew on reminiscencies of the formative period of South Africa's history as a Dominion, which he had witnessed as a soldier, an administrator, and a newspaper correspondent.

He retired from his Chair at Edinburgh, under the age limit, in 1937 and went to live in Chelsea. He might still be seen, shrivelled but bright-eyed, at the Athenaeum or at meetings of the Royal Historical Society, until a short time before he died on 5 January 1950.

He was a mixture of patriotism and liberality, of old-fashioned tastes and up-to-date opinions. He liked ceremony: for example, he concluded his History classes at Edinburgh, every year, in a style which seems to his harassed and slapdash successors almost



too grand to be true. He liked family traditions and heirlooms: he always carried about in his waistcoat pocket a Cromwellian half-crown which his great-grandfather had likewise carried before him, and he took a lively interest in the fate of family portraits and dinner-services. With all this he held political views which were generally considered as 'advanced', and they seem to have become more advanced as he grew older. But his was a thoroughly integrated character. He gave the impression of having inherited a great tradition and carrying it a stage farther.<sup>1</sup>

RICHARD PARES

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Mr. John B. Williams, of the Colonial Office, for the help and encouragement he has given me in the preparation of this memoir of his father, especially by lending me the 'Family Memoir' which his father drew up in 1939, and the privately printed memoir of Erskine Childers. I have drawn much from these two sources. I also thank Mr. Lionel Curtis, of All Souls College, Oxford, for answering my questions and giving me his memories of Basil Williams.



PLATE 4



*Photograph by Starr & Rignall, Cambridge*

STANLEY ARTHUR COOK

## STANLEY ARTHUR COOK

1873-1949

STANLEY ARTHUR COOK was born on 12 April 1873 at King's Lynn, where his father, J. T. Cook, a man of independent mind—he was a nonconformist in religion and a radical in politics—carried on a business. He was educated at Wyggeston School, Leicester, and at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. It was his father's intention that he should join him in his business, but already there were influences at work in his home which were soon to lead him along other paths. His father possessed musical and scientific tastes, and his library reflected these interests. Cook, while he inherited none of his father's musical tastes, was heir to a full measure of his spirit of inquiry and independence of mind, and found in the family library books which made a lasting impression upon him. He had access to works like *Pilgrim's Progress*, *The History of the Jewish Church* by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Dean of Westminster—after whom he was named—and the writings of Darwin, Thomas Huxley, and Lyell. There was, too, *The Penny Encyclopaedia*, with 'a marvellous article on cuneiform'—so he once described it—and a little searching brought to light rationalist pamphlets on such subjects as *Geology and Genesis* and *Noah and His Incredible Ark*. He was further attracted to the reading of missionary literature. He was stimulated to collect specimens of languages, literally by the hundreds. His imagination was uncommonly stirred by a long advertisement of Mother Siegel's Syrup in about twenty languages. The name Gujarati, and its script, made a special appeal to his young mind. It was when he was twelve years old, in 1885, that he definitely decided that he wanted to study Hebrew seriously. He received little encouragement at first from his father, who insisted that he must first devote himself to the study of French, Latin, and Greek. Two years later he bought a copy of Bresslau's Hebrew grammar for the sum of one shilling and sixpence which he had carefully saved up for the purpose. This was his way, as he once put it, of celebrating Queen Victoria's Jubilee! He studied the grammar diligently, albeit surreptitiously. It was thus already clear from an early age in which direction his interests lay, and how he was preparing himself for the work which he was later to do in Biblical and Semitic scholarship and in Comparative

Religion. His father at last came to see that his son was not cut out for a business career, and this decision taken, he gave every encouragement henceforth to him in his devotion to Hebrew study.

Cook went up to Cambridge in 1891, and three years later he took a First Class in the Semitic Languages Tripos, as it was then called. In 1895 he was First Class Tyrwhitt Scholar and Mason Hebrew Prizeman, and in the following year he was awarded the Jeremie Septuagint Prize. It was generally assumed that his special training would gain him a place on the staff of the British Museum. He sat the examination for would-be entrants in 1896, but failed to pass it. The set-back was, however, only temporary, for in the same year he was given a start along the road of Biblical scholarship which he was to travel for the rest of his life. It came in the form of an offer of a post as junior member of the editorial staff of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Cook accepted the offer, and worked for the *Encyclopaedia* until 1903. The opportunity thus afforded him was a unique one for a young scholar of his interests and attainments, and he used it to the full. His task was, *inter alia*, to write, or rather draft, minor articles. He was wont to recall, with some amusement, that the first batch of names with which he had to deal consisted of Bani, Bunni, Bigvai, Akkub, Mibhar, and Sibbecai! This early work of his is reflected in many unsigned articles of composite authorship in the *Encyclopaedia*. It was not long, however, before he was contributing signed articles, of which the editors could say that they 'appear to give promise of fine work in the future' (Preface to Vol. 1, 1899, p. xii). Articles bearing his signature appear in all four volumes of the *Encyclopaedia*.

The seven years of Cook's association with the *Encyclopaedia* left an indelible mark upon him. His preoccupation with proper names was the beginning of a lifelong interest in Hebrew names and genealogies. It was in these years, too, that he laid the foundation of his great interest in Judah and in the south Palestinian treatment of the history of Israel as depicted in the Old Testament. It was at this time also that he came under the influence of T. K. Cheyne, one of the chief editors of the *Encyclopaedia*. Cook wrote the article on Jerahmeel, except for the last section, which was written by Cheyne. Cook hardly realized at the time—he was not alone in this—the extravagances to which Cheyne's Jerahmeel theory, which involved innumerable textual emendations, was eventually to lead him.

He later learnt from it a lesson for life—the danger of what, in his later years, he used to call ‘the fallacy of subjective certitude’. The staff of the *Encyclopaedia*, and Cook among them, were much influenced also by the work of another scholar, Hugo Winckler, who belonged to the then prevailing German school of astral mythology. Cook was to ‘see this theory, too, have its day, and its fate, like that of Cheyne’s Jerahmeelite theory, made a great and lasting impression upon him.

Cook’s work for the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* was the beginning of a long period—forty years and more—of editorial work. For thirty years (1902–32) he edited the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, to which he contributed numerous articles on Semitic epigraphy and on Old Testament history and archaeology, as well as reviews. He was a member of the editorial board of the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910–11), himself writing many of the articles on Biblical subjects, and, in addition, revising some earlier articles written by W. Robertson Smith. He rendered similar service in the preparation of the fourteenth edition (1929). He was joint editor of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, for which he wrote several chapters (see below). In 1907 he published, together with I. Goldziher, a new edition, enriched with additional notes, of W. Robertson Smith’s *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, and in 1927 a new (third) edition of the same writer’s *Religion of the Semites*, furnished with an introduction, and with additional notes which occupy more than 200 closely printed pages. In 1933 he collected and edited a number of studies written by R. H. Kennett under the title *The Church of Israel*. A long introduction is devoted to an estimate of Kennett’s contribution to Biblical research.

As a teacher also Cook’s career was a long one. From 1904–32 he was Lecturer in Hebrew at his old college in Cambridge, of which he was already a Fellow, and from 1912–20 Lecturer also in Comparative Religion. In 1931 he succeeded Norman McLean as University Lecturer in Aramaic, and in 1932 he was elected to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew in succession to R. H. Kennett. His election marked a significant stage in the long history of the Chair, for he was the first layman to be elected to it. He held it until 1938, in which year he reached the age of compulsory retirement.

In addition to his work as editor and teacher, Cook produced, over a period of more than half a century, original work of his

own, which in extent and variety is truly astonishing.<sup>1</sup> Two periods in his life's work may be broadly distinguished—the period before 1910, and the period after 1910. In the first period his interest was centred on Semitic languages, inscriptions, and history, and on Old Testament analysis and archaeology. The year 1910 marked a turning point in his life, for in that year he was drawn to the study of psychology, philosophy, sociology, and religion in all its aspects. The second period of his activity is consequently increasingly characterized by an endeavour to relate his knowledge of Semitic antiquity to all the problems of human life, to the achievements of man and his permanent needs. The publication of *The Study of Religions* in 1914 may be said to mark the transition from the earlier to the later period.

During the first period of Cook's literary activity an early interest in Aramaic inscriptions and literature is noteworthy. In 1898 appeared *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions*. This book met a need at the time, but, with the great increase of fresh Aramaic material which has become available since its publication, it has become outdated. This was followed, in 1901, by the Introduction which he wrote to William Wright's *A Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, and the long Appendix to the same work. Further evidence of his interest in Syriac literature is provided by his contribution (*Beiträge*) to F. Loof's *Nestoriana* (1905). It was only to be expected that the then recently discovered Elephantine papyri would attract the attention of one so keenly interested in Aramaic studies. Articles on this subject appeared in *The Expositor* (seventh series, iv, 1907, pp. 497 ff.) and in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* (1907, pp. 68 ff.). Another recent discovery of the time was the Nash papyrus, on which Cook wrote an important article ('A pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus', in *Proceedings of Biblical Archaeology*, 1903, pp. 34 ff.). This article, in which Cook dated the papyrus in the second century of this era, has come lately into prominence for the bearing which the papyrus has, in the view of some scholars, upon the problem of the dating of the Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> A select bibliography of his writings, occupying fifteen pages, may be found in *Essays and Studies presented to Stanley Arthur Cook*, 1950, edited by the present writer. The volume was presented in typescript to Cook on 15 June 1949. Many of the personal details about him which are referred to in this memoir have been taken from the speech which he made in acknowledgement of the presentation.

manuscripts discovered in 1947 at Ain Feshka, north-west of the Dead Sea. Cook's first large work, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, was published in 1903. The book was born of its time. The Code had only recently been discovered, and its discovery came at a time when the scholarly world was being flooded with literature dealing with the extent of Babylonian civilization upon Israel. In this volume Cook provided a well-balanced study of the similarities and dissimilarities between the two systems of legislation, and of the extent to which, and the time at which, the Babylonian system may have influenced the Israelite system. Since then new and important discoveries have been made, and the study of ancient Near Eastern law codes has been greatly advanced. Yet Cook's book can still be read with profit by students in this field. A smaller, but more important, work—which consists of studies which had already been published in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, and which formed a continuation of a preliminary article on the composition of the second book of Samuel, which had appeared in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages* (1900, pp. 145 ff.)—was published in 1907 under the title *Critical Notes on Old Testament History: the Traditions of Saul and David*. In this book Cook revealed that he possessed a critical acumen which was quite out of the ordinary. In it he gave early evidence of what was to become throughout his life a characteristic of all his scholarly work, namely, his determination to pursue his own path, undeterred by opposition or indifference. His attitude to the so-called 'court history of David', as preserved in 2 Samuel ix ff., may serve as an illustration. These chapters of 2 Samuel have generally been regarded as among the best specimens of early Hebrew literature, as the work of one contemporary, or nearly contemporary, writer, and as almost entirely free from interpolations and signs of redaction. On this widely held view Cook launched a vigorous attack. While hardly any critic has been able to follow him in his revolutionary views of this section, and others, of the Old Testament, his book remains a most stimulating work, and will long stand as a challenge to more generally accepted views.

When we turn to Cook's literary activity during the period after 1910—a period which extended up to the year of his death—we note a continuing interest in those studies to which he had applied himself in the earlier period side by side with a rapidly developing interest in the broader implications of Semitic and Biblical scholarship. Of his huge literary output



during this long period, it is possible here, of course, to refer only to a few of the more important writings. First to be mentioned are the fine chapters which he contributed to *The Cambridge Ancient History* (1923-7). In these chapters he dealt with Mesopotamian and Old Testament chronology; the Semites; Syria and Palestine in the light of external evidence; the rise of Israel and the neighbouring states; the fall and rise of Judah; Israel before the prophets; the prophets of Israel; and the inauguration of Judaism. To attempt to give even a bare idea of the fresh challenge to further research which these chapters on Hebrew history and religion provide, would take us far beyond the limits of this memoir. It must suffice to mention some points of general interest which Cook was at this time emphasizing, and which he never tired of reiterating for the rest of his life. We may refer first to his emphasis upon the new attitude towards the Old Testament narrative necessitated by archaeological discoveries. These discoveries have neither 'proved' nor 'disproved' the Old Testament record but have placed it in an altogether new light. Next, we note the stress he lays upon the importance of the sixth century B.C., which for him is the pivot upon which all the great problems of the Old Testament ultimately turn. Its importance for the development of Judaism, and therefore also of Christianity, can hardly be exaggerated. And again, there is the great significance he attaches to the Hebrew prophets. While he could write of them that they 'were Semites, supreme examples of the ancient Semitic mentality; and we misunderstand them and their influence if we separate them too rigorously from the lower and cruder phenomena of their day' (iii, p. 460), he could say also of them that 'they are extreme examples of the Semitic religious consciousness, which, to adapt the words of Pascal, combines a deep sense of man's insignificance before a Supreme Power and an intense conviction of man's exceeding greatness by reason of the very experience of this relationship' (iii, pp. 471 f.).

The invitation of the British Academy to deliver the Schweich Lectures for 1925 presented Cook with an opportunity to deal at length with a subject which, by virtue of long interest and deep knowledge, he was in a unique position to treat. Nearly twenty years earlier S. R. Driver had taken as his subject for these Lectures *Modern Research as Illustrating the Bible* (1908). Since his time knowledge of oriental archaeology had greatly increased, and discussion of the problems arising therefrom had been carried much farther. In his own Schweich Lectures

(*The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*)—which incidentally has the distinction of being the largest volume in the series up to date—Cook took up the story from 1908, and endeavoured to show what archaeological research is contributing to our knowledge of Palestine, and how it is profoundly affecting Biblical and other problems. In these Lectures is offered an amazingly comprehensive presentation of a great variety of material, treated with that sure mastery of touch which Cook displayed in his chapters in *The Cambridge Ancient History*. It will long remain a valuable work of reference. Two important general conclusions emerge from Cook's treatment of his subject. In the first place, the land of Israel was in complete touch, archaeologically, with the larger area of which it was an organic part. And secondly, it had an individuality of its own.

The small land [he writes] must hammer out its own career or be swallowed up. The evidence seems to show that the exclusiveness and creativeness, the self-consciousness, one might say, which characterize the religion of Israel date from an early if not pre-Israelite period. The early religion was certainly not that of the prophets, nor was it merely one with the surrounding religions. It had distinctive features of its own, but it was not the religion which has given the Old Testament its worth. In other words, non-Israelite and pre-Israelite conditions of life and thought supplied the material which the great reforming minds of Israel, at certain epochs, reshaped and invested with a fuller content, thereby giving the religion, or rather, the thread of the religious development, a permanent value (pp. 229 f.).

It has already been remarked that the publication of *The Study of Religions* in 1914 marked the transition from the earlier to the later period of Cook's literary activity. This book was written in the conviction that there was an impending crisis in religious thought. Cook saw quite clearly that the war which broke out in 1914 would mark an epoch in history—'this war will have a significance, which one can hardly conceive, for ideals, for conceptions of humanity, righteousness, culture, and progress, and for religious, ethical, and related problems of life and thought' (Preface, p. v). The book was intended to be a contribution to the general study of religions. The subject is treated as critically as possible, without any attempt to justify any one religion. The aim is more especially to find positions, attitudes, and methods, in accordance with the best principles of research. From 1914 onwards article after article on vast themes of religion, philosophy, and psychology appeared under

Cook's signature. As examples may be cited the short contributions—he was quite content to write briefly on large themes—which he made to *The Cambridge Review* from 1917 and onwards on such topics as the theory of reconstruction, and of progress; Christianity, Communism, and criticism; the bankruptcy of Christianity; and the religion of science and the science of religion. Mention may be made, too, of his articles on Religion in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (x, 1918, pp. 662 ff.), and in the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Reference may be made also to his many articles, from 1934 onwards, in *The Modern Churchman* on such subjects as the 'evolution' of Biblical religion; Biblical criticism and the interpretation of history; the future of theology; the cultural problem of the Bible; the modernity of the Bible; the relevance of the science of religion; and the causes of Christian modernism.

It could have been no surprise to anyone familiar with Cook's wide interests that, when he delivered his Inaugural Lecture as Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge in 1932, he chose as his subject *The Place of the Old Testament in Modern Research*. In this lecture may be found, though of necessity treated only in brief compass, many of the themes which were never for long absent from his mind—themes on which he had already written, and on which he was to write again. For Cook the vital question is the necessity of understanding and restating the place of Old Testament study in the world of scholarly thought. 'If', he writes, 'the Bible was once, in a sense, the centre and criterion of all knowledge, it is regaining a position in the world of thought which manifests anew its uniqueness, and its significance for research' (pp. 9 f.). There is again strong emphasis laid upon the significance of the study of external evidence, and a recognition of the difficulties involved in the use of such evidence. Evidence of this kind has 'so illumined the background and environment of the Bible as a whole, that not only has Biblical research been completely revolutionized in the course of the last generation or so, but it is difficult, even for the expert or specialist, to grasp and estimate all that is being done in his field' (p. 20). There is a salutary word on the misuse of archaeological material—'it is unfortunately the archaeologist who, from time to time, well-meaning, though with unjustifiable assurance, goes beyond his evidence and gives a false impression of what Archaeology really is doing for our study' (p. 23). Cook sees the Old Testament as a sacred book which is bound up with non-religious

lines of research—‘the folk-lorist, the archaeologist, the psychologist and the psycho-analyst, and the student of secular history—each in turn utilizes the Book, and each in his own way contributes to our knowledge of it’ (pp. 21 f.). That the Old Testament is an integral part of ancient history, and its religion an integral part of the history of the world’s religions, has long been recognized, but ‘the place of the Old Testament in world-history and world-religion is unique, and we are obtaining a new and vastly clearer conception of all that wherein the uniqueness lies’ (p. 25). Between the Old Testament and the New there are inseparable interconnexions of thought—‘the student of the New Testament may be content with a minimum of the Old Testament, but the student of the Old Testament finds himself carried forward into the New—if not to nearer ages’ (p. 31). The ethical monotheism of Israel is in marked contrast to monotheisms or monotheistic tendencies outside Israel—the ethical monotheism of Israel alone was effective. While it is indispensable that the Old Testament, if it is to be intelligently understood, must be looked at in an evolutionary way, certain evolutionary reconstructions of the religious and social development of Israel are declared to be no longer tenable. The aim must be to find a reconstruction which does justice to all, and not only some of, the data which are crying for recognition. In past history there are special periods of exceptional creative power. Both Testaments turn upon such periods. The sixth century B.C. saw an outburst of activity which was not confined to the Near East. The inquiry into the progressive development of life and thought in Israel round about the seventh to fifth centuries B.C. is regarded as the fundamental problem of the Old Testament. As for the prophets, ‘the essence of “true” prophetism seems to lie, not in foretelling or anticipating the future, but in helping men to face *any* future and in paving the way for the establishment of those essential principles upon which depends man’s fullest happiness in the Universe’ (p. 39).

Four years after his Inaugural Lecture, Cook published *The Old Testament: A Reinterpretation*, and in 1938 *The ‘Truth’ of the Bible*, two volumes which contain his mature conclusions concerning the Bible and its permanent value for human life and thought. In both volumes Cook’s thesis is that history and religion must be placed within the framework of the ever-increasing knowledge of the universe, and that an interpretation of the Bible which will satisfy modern knowledge and modern

needs must be attempted. The earlier chapters of the first volume referred to cover ground that is fairly familiar—the English Bible; the Hebrew Text and Canon; tradition and criticism; the land and the people; and Israel and the nations. The later chapters treat of such subjects as the religion of the Old Testament; the God, the people, and the land; the unseen world; the struggle for ethical monotheism; the prophets; the post-exilic age; and the Old Testament and the New. The same dominant themes are here met with again as met us in the Inaugural Lecture. We are reminded, for example, that the co-ordination of archaeological and Biblical evidence is always a delicate task; that the picture represented to us by archaeology is at present imperfect and disproportionate; and that the same evidence can be interpreted in different ways. Again, on the question of monotheism, we are bidden to remember that the mere appearance of monotheistic tendencies is in itself not so important as their persistence, development, and their place in history. Further, the prophets are brought before us not only as interpreters of history in the light of their exceptional knowledge of the character of God, who, they firmly believed, works in history, and is a Personal Saviour, but as themselves great creative figures who helped to make universal history—‘the better we understand them, the clearer is our outlook on both the past and the future’ (p. 167). The prophets are not to be thought of as mystics. They were intensely realistic and rationalist—‘it was the sanity of the prophets and not their manticism that made them such tremendous factors in human history’ (p. 189). It was not because of their ‘otherness’ that they exercised lasting influence, but because they were rare specimens of the usual run of men. In their own deepest experiences there was a universal significance; the private personal history of a prophet is part of universal history. Once again there is the emphasis on the importance of the sixth century B.C. and thereabouts, the century in which Israel ‘rediscovered her God’, and in which, through the work of the Second Isaiah, conceptions of a new Israel came into being. Again, too, we encounter the familiar stress upon the intimate relationship between the Old Testament and the New. The New Testament period saw the inauguration of a new prophetic movement, and a fresh interpretation of older ideas. Jew and Christian take their respective roads. A new Israel has been born. The Old Israel and the New is the keynote of the reinterpretation of the Bible. Religious ideas which are common to many peoples were so

completely remoulded by the best minds in Israel that they have assumed a degree of uniqueness which originally they did not possess. These ideas of God, man, and the universe have ceased to be the peculiar possession of any one people—they are a world possession, and 'the progressive development of the fundamental idea (of Israel and her God) by whomsoever it may be furthered will mark the further development of Religion itself' (p. 191). The Israel 'idea' was shaped anew in Christianity, and such is the power of it that 'there might be a further development, historically as unsuspected as the passage nineteen centuries ago from Palestine to the West' (p. 224). The reinterpretation of this idea in the light of modern conditions and problems is the imperative task of scholarship.

One further matter which is discussed in this volume must be mentioned, for it to some extent paves the way for the second volume to which reference has been made. It is the problem as to where the essential truth of the Bible is to be found. Some recent writers have found it to lie in its conformity with facts of history, of archaeology, or of comparative religion. In this volume Cook argues that the Bible has been of such influence in the world that its real truth must be looked for in spheres more profound than those of secular study of the type mentioned. For him the essential truth of the Bible lies not in 'facts', but in ideas of permanent human value; and furtherance and development of this truth will come about only in so far as men relate it to the history and religion of their own time. Again a lesson is to be learnt from Israel's past—'What we value is not Israel or Yahwism, as such, but what Israel made of her inheritance when the occasions arose' (p. 221).

*The 'Truth' of the Bible* is in many respects the sequel to the book we have just been considering. Seven of its twelve chapters had already been published, wholly or in part, in various organs, and are here brought together in a revised form. The old familiar themes are here again—the Hebrew prophets, the significance of the sixth century B.C., ethical monotheism, and so on. The last three chapters are each called 'The "Truth" of the Bible', but with sub-titles (The Processes; Righteousness, Order, and Truth; and Towards a New Culture). Only a philosopher who is at the same time a student of religion could hope to give an adequate and just account of the contribution which Cook makes in this volume. The present writer must content himself with quoting two passages which, it is hoped, may serve to illustrate the widely ranging mind of the author

and the quality of his work. 'The "Truth" of the Bible', he writes, 'lies not only in that which the religious mind has found, tested and verified, it lies also in what we can learn from it of principles and processes that have made individual and national history' (p. 233). And again—'The regeneration of Israel does not spring from the social order, but from the cosmic; and God, Israel and the Universe are united. . . . The idea of God has not its roots in the social order but in the cosmic; it is the characteristic note of the great prophets that ideas of a cosmic process, a divine righteousness or world order, inspired their efforts. . . . We here lay our finger on the fatal flaw in all our present reforming and transforming schemes, and must go back and grasp the spirit of the Bible to discover the cause of their failure. Social reform depends upon the reality of God, the God of the Universe, Nature, and Man—there can be no reconstruction that does not do justice to the religious needs and our knowledge of man and of his world: the religious view of the Universe and the scientific cannot long be held apart' (p. 154). On almost every page of this book there is a paragraph, or a sentence, or a phrase which arrests the attention of the reader.

When we look back upon Cook's long life of scholarship as linguist, epigraphist, archaeologist, historian, student of religion, philosopher, psychologist—he was all these, and more besides, for almost no field of knowledge was to him alien to the tasks he had set himself—we are impressed especially by two things. First, is his adventurous and astonishingly well-stored mind. He inherited, as has been said, independence of mind, and all his research is characterized by it. He felt indeed both joy and satisfaction in going his own way. But he was never rash. If he, for example, dated the Siloam inscription several centuries later than most scholars, or again, if he persisted to the end, against weighty opinion, that the inscription on the well-known British Museum coin is to be read Yahu, and not Yehud, he had his reasons. There was little that bore upon his interests, wide as they were, which he seemed not to have read; and it was characteristic of his 'total' view of things that he made a point of reading, and re-reading, the works of writers whose views differed from his own. Secondly, we are impressed by the compelling zeal behind his writings, especially those of his later years. He wrote as one with a mission, returning ever and again to the great themes which dominated his mind. There is in consequence a noticeable repetitiveness in his writings. His sense of urgency is clearly apparent. Only Christianity, he

believed, can inaugurate a new and better order, and a restatement of it is imperative if it is to have any cultural influence. In order that this conviction, and all that it involves, might be conveyed to a wider public, Cook published in 1942 his first Pelican Book, *The Rebirth of Christianity*, which was followed in 1945 by a companion volume in the same series, *An Introduction to the Bible*. As he looked beyond the present to the future, he wrote—‘We are at the beginning of the greatest Adventure of human history—the conscious step towards a new stage in evolution.’ These words, with which *The Rebirth of Christianity* ends, written towards the close of his life, illustrate perhaps as well as any the far off goal to which he, in so many of his writings, directed his powerful mind and vast learning.

In any attempt to estimate the lasting value of Cook’s work, the obscurity of his style is a factor which cannot be left out of account. Cook was well aware of this characteristic of his writing, and indeed was wont to seek the help of his friends in an endeavour to render his writing less obscure. There can be little doubt that such writings of his as his chapters in *The Cambridge Ancient History* and his Schweich Lectures, which rank among his most solid achievements, and some of his more important articles will be read and studied by scholars for a long time to come. There can, however, be no denying that a great deal of his work, even including his more popular writings, such as the Pelican Books just referred to, make heavy demands upon the reader’s patience and perseverance. If we seek the origin of his obscure style, we might perhaps look for it in the habit of compression contracted during his years as a member of the staff of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*. Again, it may in part be due to the vast store of knowledge which he carried in his mind. At the mention of any topic, thoughts would come streaming into his mind, and he perhaps found difficulty in concentrating upon one line of argument. Or again, it may be the inevitable result of an attempt today to acquire universal knowledge and to interrelate all things. For Cook believed that all things are interrelated. Be all this as it may, certain it is that Cook seemed able to make himself more easily understood in conversation than by means of the written word. Many will long remember the pleasure and stimulus they took away from talks with him. He invariably left the present writer with the impression that, pour himself out as he would, he yet had something more to say which defied articulation. Though it is to be feared that, by reason of their obscurity, his writings will not be read to the



extent that they deserve, the fact remains that those who have read them, to the limit of their comprehension, cannot but feel a deep debt of gratitude to a scholar who has helped them to a fuller appreciation of the permanent significance of Israel's history and religion. It is not going too far to say that those who are conscious of this debt will feel that he has helped them also to understand better themselves and their place in the universe.

Many honours were conferred upon Cook in recognition of his great distinction as a scholar. He was elected President of the Society for Old Testament Study in 1925, and became an Honorary Member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis (U.S.A.) in 1931. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1933, and received the Hon. D.D. from the University of Aberdeen in 1937, and the Hon. D.Litt. from the University of Oxford in 1938. He took the degree of Litt.D. of his own University in 1920.

Cook was not only a student of religion. He was himself a profoundly religious man. As a child, his thoughts turned to the possibility that he might be a minister. He even preached infantile sermons. But he remained a Christian layman. He seems never to have experienced any religious difficulties or perplexities. He never had any doubt that, for the truth he was seeking, the Bible contained the essential clue. In the full maturity of life, with all his massive learning, and with a lifetime of human experience behind him, he ends his last major work—*The 'Truth' of the Bible*—with this moving declaration—'But of all the symbols the Cross stands on a hill, apart. It is the crowning symbol of all who testify and bear witness to their ultimate truth; it speaks also of seeming failure, disappointment and disillusion; it tells of daily burdens, not known to others, but not borne alone; and it is the assurance that it is not men alone whose concern is with the history and conditions of men, but that behind and above all is the Divine Love'.

Cook was always deeply conscious of the debt he owed to others—to his parents; to his wife, who was Annette Hume, the daughter of William Thomas Bell—she pre-deceased him in 1942; to the editors of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, and to other scholars, to mention only W. Robertson Smith, S. R. Driver, A. A. Bevan, A. B. Davidson, F. C. Burkitt, R. H. Kennett, and N. McLean. Indeed he never forgot anyone who had in any way helped him along the course his life ran, whether by their encourage-

ment, their love and friendship, or by their sacrifice. *The Rebirth of Christianity* is significantly, and characteristically, dedicated 'To those who helped', and Cook would not have excluded from them the many students who had passed through his hands. A mood of humble thankfulness was indeed one to which he was ever prone. It was in this mood that he accepted the honours that came to him, though he would not have denied the pleasure they gave him. On his appointment as Regius Professor of Hebrew, he remarked to a friend—'This is the happiest day of my life; you see, I came so near to being a failure.' No words written by another could express more eloquently than these words of his own his deep sense of thankfulness and innate humbleness of mind. If he felt himself indebted to others, he more than repaid the debt, both in terms of scholarship and of human relationships. He was essentially a kindly man, and his many unobtrusive kindnesses were as a rule known only to the recipients of them. His great fund of learning was always at the disposal of those who wished to draw upon it. He was quick to encourage younger scholars. Though there were no limits to his criticism of scholarly works, he very rarely, if ever, spoke of the writers of them in terms other than those of high respect. And in all his personal relationships he displayed this same calm tolerance. This is not to say, however, that he did not look for certain standards in others. He did indeed. For example, when he recalled the sacrifices which others had made for him, and the sacrifices which he himself had been called upon to make, in the cause of his life's work, he could be somewhat critical of those who looked for rewards, but were seemingly unwilling to face the sacrifices involved. He rarely allowed himself such criticism, and, when he did, he made it in the kindest possible terms. He was a man completely without bitterness.

Cook was blessed with a natural gaiety and an aptitude for fun. Juggling and conjuring were once his hobbies. His interest in puns and doggerel verse—he could himself perpetrate both on occasion—remained with him all his life. He had, too, a fund of stories which he delighted to tell. He had a great love of children—he had none of his own—and they were easily drawn to him. Friendship meant much to him, and all who enjoyed those intimate evenings, when he entertained a few of his friends, will retain the liveliest memories of the vivacity, charm, and engaging conversation of their host.

When Cook died, after a short illness, on 26 September 1949,

a unique figure passed from the world of Biblical scholarship. He grew up in the pioneering days of Old Testament research, when the Graf-Wellhausen position in literary criticism was becoming firmly established, and Semitic philology was entering upon a new stage. He himself was one of the then 'new' school. He is of the company of the giants of those days—Robertson Smith, Davidson, Driver, Winckler, and the rest—and ranks worthily with them. He lived long enough to recognize that he in turn came to belong to the 'old' school in some respects. But, like his peers, he belongs to the history of Biblical scholarship, and he, as they did, helped to mould that history and to give it a new turn. Wherever and whenever that history is rehearsed, the name of Stanley Arthur Cook will be remembered. Many who have no special concern with scholarship will remember rather 'S. A. C.', as he was affectionately known, for the man he was—deeply religious, humble in mind, simple, grateful for the blessings which had come his way, unselfish, loyal, friendly, generous, and gay.

D. WINTON THOMAS



PLATE 5



*By courtesy of 'The Eagle'*

MARTIN PERCIVAL CHARLESWORTH

## MARTIN PERCIVAL CHARLESWORTH

1895-1950

MARTIN PERCIVAL CHARLESWORTH was born on 18 January 1895, the elder son of the Reverend Ambrose Charlesworth, at that time Curate of Eastham, Cheshire, and later Rector of Thursaston in the same county. He was educated at Birkenhead School and entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in the Michaelmas Term of 1914 as a Rustat Scholar. There he was taught by two sound Classics, E. Abbott and W. H. Duke, and was elected to University Scholarships—the Bell in his first year, the John Stewart of Rannoch in his second. Despite a defect in eyesight he obtained a commission in the Labour Corps and served at home and abroad, mostly in the Middle East, till the end of the First World War. On his return to Cambridge he quickly caught up with his studies, and in 1920 he won the Craven Scholarship and was placed in the First Division of the First Class in the Classical Tripos, Part I. In 1921 he was First Chancellor's Medallist. In Part II of the Tripos he took a First Class with distinction in Ancient History, which he had chosen as his special subject of study. His academical successes and his personality were duly recognized by his election to a Fellowship at Jesus in that year. In 1920 he had made his one appearance on the stage in the role of the Nurse in the notable production of the *Oresteia*. During the academical year 1921-2 he held a Visiting Fellowship at Princeton University, where he made lasting friendships and is still remembered with affection.

During his residence at Princeton Charlesworth took in hand his first piece of research, on the Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire, which he pursued with characteristic energy on his return to Cambridge. His book on this topic was finished in time to be awarded the Hare Prize for 1922. This was a remarkable feat for so young a scholar in so short a time. It was written *con amore*, for as Charlesworth says in his Preface, 'I believe in the Roman Empire', a belief which inspired most of his later original work. Whereas the book was limited to the theme set out in its title and did not claim to do more than 'outline a part of the economic life of the Roman Empire during its first two centuries', it ranged beyond the frontiers of the Empire to India, Ceylon, and China. Some parts of the ground were rather slightly treated—it was observed that Germany and

parts of south-east Europe might have received more attention—but, on the whole, it was recognized as meeting a need of students and as of value to specialists. Within two years of its publication it was reprinted with some corrections, and in 1938 it was translated into French and in 1940 into Italian.

Even more important for Charlesworth's career than this earnest of his future distinction as an Ancient Historian was an appointment at St. John's. To quote the Master of that college, he 'was one of that quartet of distinguished men whom we were fortunate in bringing to the College from outside at the end of the First World War, when the numbers of our own body had been depleted by war and other causes, and who gave the College great service in those days of reconstruction and expansion—Coulton, Creed, Henry Howard, and Charlesworth himself. All threw themselves into the work of the College and became wholly identified with it. . . .' Even while he was at Princeton St. John's invited him to assist in the classical teaching of the college from the Michaelmas Term of 1922, and in March 1923 he was elected a Fellow and college Lecturer in Classics. While he retained his personal connexion with Jesus College and enjoyed the friendship of such members of that foundation as Foakes-Jackson, Quiller-Couch and, closest of all, Bernard Manning, he became a Johnian with a devotion to that college which was the strongest interest of his academical career. He proved himself an admirable teacher with a sympathetic understanding of his pupils. In 1925 he accepted a Tutorship, which he held for six years. He had much to do, and did it with easy efficiency in harmony with his colleagues. But, most of all, he gave himself to his men, to whom 'Charles', as they called him, was a constant and resourceful friend. His judgement of undergraduates was discriminating; his benevolence was universal. It is hard to believe that any Tutor can have enjoyed the trust of his pupils so fully or understood them better. In his rooms he was very hospitable, and he was an excellent host, talking away and getting others to talk, or at his piano enjoying himself and the cause of enjoyment to others.

In vacation he was apt to set off to the Roman Wall, taking undergraduates with him, and on the Wall he was soon the friend of all the world. He travelled abroad and made friends with scholars, in particular with the most eminent Rumanian historian of the day, V. Pârvan, whom he lured to Cambridge to give some notable lectures which he translated in collaboration with his close friend I. L. Evans.

During these years he found time for his own work, publishing papers which showed his critical judgement of the sources for the early Principate. He was appointed a University Lecturer in Classics and quickly won a high reputation. On the death of J. B. Bury he was appointed an Editor of the *Cambridge Ancient History*, which had then reached its sixth volume. He remained an Editor until the completion of the work a dozen years later, and only those who were closely in touch with its progress can realize how great is its debt to his loyal and skilful co-operation. Such an enterprise is apt to be beset with complications; amid these he preserved an equable mind and displayed great resource. Apart from his own contributions, which will be considered later, he took his full share in planning for future volumes and in the preparation of the volume in hand. He was not concerned to claim credit for such success as was achieved; but it was realized among scholars how increasingly his wide knowledge and rapidly maturing judgement were of advantage to their joint efforts, and his reputation as a leader among the younger Ancient Historians became established beyond dispute.

When in 1931 the University created a Laurence Readership in Classics for Ancient History, especially the History of the Roman Empire, Charlesworth was appointed to it, a post which he held with distinction until his death. Under the regulations for the Readership he relinquished the post of Tutor at St. John's, but continued to take an active part in the classical teaching of the college. This teaching in pure Classics at once kept his literary interests wide and contributed to his sure instinct in the interpretation of literary texts, which was one characteristic of his historical work. With his wide knowledge of undergraduates and of college affairs he continued to take his full share in its administration. He was by now well known throughout the University. In the varied society of St. John's, which contained many notable personalities, he had close friends, and he was fortunate in having for his more immediate colleagues T. R. Glover and E. E. Sikes; but he was, besides, very sociable, and a welcome guest at High Tables throughout the University.

Charlesworth enjoyed lecturing. In formal historical writing he possessed, besides high technical competence, a fluent, lucid style with considerable power of phrase, but it was in the art of the spoken word that he excelled. The matter of his lectures was meticulously prepared and sedulously revised in the light of new evidence or new ideas. In an advanced course he could handle documents with unhesitating thoroughness. But his especial



skill was in a general treatment and interpretation illuminated by examples. In his light, rather mellifluous voice he would seem to be taking his audience into his confidence about matters in which they were as interested, and almost as informed, as himself. The difficult art of knowing how much knowledge he could assume in his class came easily to him. (He was plausibly alleged to have begun a Tripos lecture with the word 'But'.) He was, sparingly, witty without elaboration, indulging in a neat phrase or, more often, in a gay παρά προσδοκίαν—'Antony was a great leader of men, and a great follower of women.' In his very occasional broadcasts he was master of concise, easy exposition. When he addressed a learned society he was unobtrusively learned: to a less sophisticated audience he was simple and direct. He was one of those men who would be told: 'You do not know me, but I shall never forget listening to you ten years ago.'

Charlesworth's frequent excursions to the Roman Wall were not only for the pleasure of walking with his friends and to satisfy a love of the countryside: they sprang from a deep interest in the history of Roman Britain. He was not a specialist in archaeology, but he had a wide knowledge of its results, and a command of epigraphic evidence and of the numismatics of the Principate. He brought to their study a disciplined and, as it were, concrete imagination, and he added to it a quality which was most markedly his own and consonant with his personal character—a lively sympathy. The people of the Empire, in Rome, in Britain, or in other provinces, were to him alive. He was too shrewd to decline to vague sentiment, but he was too intelligent to be cynical. He was at times more ready than most scholars to give to historical figures, as to those around him, the benefit of the doubt. And the doubt most often sprang from an acute, vigorous, and fair-minded criticism of the ancient evidence in which he excelled. All this is visible in his writings. In 1935 he delivered the Martin Lectures at the University of Oberlin in Ohio, which were published under the title of *Five Men. Character Studies from the Roman Empire*. Whereas in the first four lectures he described, with much learning lightly borne and a seasoning of wit, real personages, Herod Agrippa, Musonius, Josephus, and Agricola; in the last—the Merchant—he presented a composite figure set against a composite background. It was more than a *jeu d'esprit* and contained much that illuminates the sources on which it drew. It was, as it were, the *Trade-routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* come alive in an

imaginative creation. As one reads these lectures, one is struck by the range of his knowledge of ancient and modern literature. He was gifted with a most retentive memory and an associative faculty which made quotation come easily. Nothing, for example, could be more apt than the passage from Bossuet which precedes the lecture on Agricola. Few classical scholars would have known the passage, and fewer still would have detected its perfect relevance to his theme.

His knowledge of numismatic evidence and power of interpretation were displayed in a series of lectures and articles on the attitude of the Imperial Government to its subjects and the converse of this; above all, in his Raleigh Lecture on the Virtues of a Roman Emperor. His appreciation of the services of the Empire to the world of the Principate was perhaps at times a trifle over-optimistic, but it was not without discrimination. He detects, for instance, in the *Clementia* that was an official attribute of the Emperor an 'ominous ring'. 'In fact', he writes, '*Clementia* had become too much a despotic quality; the mercy of a conqueror towards those whose life he holds in his hands, the gracious act of an absolute monarch towards his subjects.' Too many historians have gone astray in their evaluation of propaganda, as though 'what I tell you three times' is false. Charlesworth realized that the imperial propaganda 'was a very sober and truthful propaganda, and it was not far removed from fact . . . not promises for a vague future, but a reminder of genuine achievement'. He then continues, 'It was eminently successful, but like many other things, its very success brought peril with it. If you ask wherein that peril lay, I should say that it lay—as time went on—in the increasing concentration of popular belief and emotion upon one human figure, upon the *Virtus* and *Providentia* of the Emperor.' To these writings, as to those on ruler-cult, students of these matters will always turn with profit for the balanced judgement and penetration which they display.

In the *Cambridge Ancient History* he wrote an epilogue on Carthage which showed his insight into the national character of a people that were the stepchildren of history. Then in the tenth volume appeared chapters written in collaboration with W. W. Tarn on the period from the Ides of March to the triumph of Octavian. To this collaboration he always looked back with especial pleasure. It can best be described in the words of his collaborator, written to me after Charlesworth's death:

I am very proud and touched that he should have remembered our collaboration over volume X. It was certainly a very happy time for

me; he was the nicest person to collaborate with that one could imagine, and though it was a quite new kind of collaboration I think we only disagreed once. I still remember that day vividly; it was one point only; I came down to Cambridge overnight with a 'neutral draft', breakfasted with him, and then for 3 hours we went over my draft word for word like 2 lawyers, till at last we had a text with which neither of us quite agreed but which we could both sign without violating our consciences too badly. Then (do you remember?) you came in to lunch, and Charlesworth drove us to Ely Cathedral and all talk ended and we sat watching the sun through the stained glass. Not many other men would have thought of Ely being what we needed or what *I* needed. I have always remembered that day as one of the high lights of my life—a golden day—and I am very glad he remembered it too.

In the other chapters that Charlesworth wrote in this volume, those on Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius, and in his treatment of the Flavian Emperors in Volume XI, he was at his best. The themes suited him, the more as military history, in which his interest was slight, was no part of his task. In particular his chapter on Tiberius was of outstanding merit. It deserved the praise awarded it by Professor Syme that it succeeded in being fair both to the Emperor and to Tacitus.

In history-writing about the Principate the trend in recent times has been away from the study of the literary sources and towards that of epigraphical and numismatic evidence. Source criticism had proved on the whole disappointing in positive results: a justifiable scepticism about the description of the Empire in terms of the personality of Emperors was assuming the character of an irreverent agnosticism about the literary tradition. Charlesworth, after a profound study of Tacitus, in particular, was able to apply a more fruitful criterion to the literary sources. And his equally thorough treatment of the non-literary evidence made of it an ally and not merely a rival. This gave to his chapters on the Principate a rare poise and balance. Had he written nothing but these contributions to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, his place among historians of the Roman Empire would be secure.

In the meantime he continued to be a leading figure in the life of his college, and in 1937, on the retirement of E. E. Sikes, he was elected President, an office which he held until his death, to the great advantage of the Society. It was a position which afforded scope for his hospitable gifts, for, like Sir Peter,

None better knew the feast to sway,  
Or keep mirth's boat in better trim.

He was at once a good talker and a good listener, with wide

interests which he was always ready to make wider still. Senior and junior Fellows were united in their goodwill to him. St. John's had formed an *amicitia* with Balliol and he cherished it. 'We in Balliol', wrote the Dean of that college to the Master on Charlesworth's death, 'owe him much for the pains he took to make our alliance the happy and valued one it has become, and we feel we have lost a real friend of the College.' It was an especial joy to his old pupils to return and find him presiding at the High Table, well aware of their fortunes and extending a warm welcome which turned back the years to the hospitable moments they remembered in his rooms when they were undergraduates. Devoted to his social duties as President, he dined out less often, but the loss this was to his many friends in the colleges was compensated by the anticipation of his presence when they were invited to St. John's. In college affairs he remained deeply interested, though he was not one of those who can best be described as men of business. His general attitude towards University policy was a belief that it was fallibly benevolent, to be carefully scrutinized if it touched the concerns of his college. He was for some years a valued Syndic of the Press, and he was a wise counsellor on the Classical Board, of which he was Chairman during the transition from war to peace.

When term was over he would retire from Cambridge, though not for long periods, to Heswall in Cheshire, where his mother lived, and to the north. He represented St. John's on the Governing Body of Sedbergh and delighted to go there. Thence he would proceed to a farm near Penrith or to Longtown, just south of the Border, where he had made friends from the rector and the neighbouring gentry to the postman, in whose cottage he would gossip away at his ease. Then he would return to the orderly comfort of his college rooms. He remained a bachelor, but took an affectionate interest in the family life of his closer friends, to whose children he was an ever-youthful uncle by adoption. To his younger colleagues in college and in the University he showed an unobtrusive and unexacting benevolence. The close co-operation of the teachers in Ancient History was, in a very great measure, due to him, and he did as much as anyone to maintain a strong tradition of goodwill among the classical dons of the University.

As the war approached there was a suggestion that he should undertake some highly confidential Government work, but it proved that he was needed in Cambridge, the more as the Master of St. John's became Vice-Chancellor in October 1939,

so that his own responsibilities increased. But he was very valuable in assisting to select men for important services, and he had the confidence of the departments he helped in this way. He took general charge of the teaching of Ancient History in the University in the absence of several of his colleagues. This was for him a period full of activity. His own account may be quoted from one of his books:

During those uncertain years of 1939-45 the tasks of a civilian, at once an academic and a clergyman, were numerous and sometimes surprising: to teach and lecture in Classics, to attend and sometimes preach at special services, to fire-watch, to travel about the country lecturing at schools, to address groups of soldiers, to guide parties of guests over the College, endeavouring the while to explain the apparent illogicality of the English University and College system—these were but a few of them.

In 1940, indeed, he had decided to seek ordination, thus following the example of his father. As the Master of St. John's has written:

Though his intellectual interests did not appear to be theological, the bent of his nature was pastoral, and he thought the religious vocation would help him in his relations with younger men and also enable him to be of some use on this side of College life. Henceforward he frequently took some part in Chapel Services and in his vacations assisted his brother, the Reverend Lancelot Charlesworth, Vicar of Tilston, adding to the already wide range of his academic labours a form of work in which he found a new vocation. At the same time he made it quite clear that he desired no ecclesiastical preferment; he liked the larger range of service opened to him, but that service was to be given in his own way and time. His faith appeared simple and unquestioning; Christianity sufficed for the problems of living and the problem of life, and he loved the forms of its worship.

As he sought no ecclesiastical preferment, so he declined academical advancement which would take him from Cambridge. But he had many contacts with foreign scholars. One thing that gave him especial pleasure was to visit Sweden for a small conference of Classics at Lund, in 1947, where he made new friends. He kept up close relations with his confrères at Oxford, where he was always welcome, and at other British universities. He was ever ready to be helpful with other men's research and to encourage it. This activity reached its climax once a year at a brief informal gathering of Ancient Historians. At Market Harborough, Tring, or Bedford the clans would gather from far and wide for sociable shop, in which he took a

leading part. For he was interested in all sides of the subject: he pursued, indeed—to use a phrase from the Epilogue of his Martin Lecture—‘the close and affectionate study of Graeco-Roman antiquity, in all its branches’. But Rome claimed his chief devotion, and in 1945 he was elected President of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. For three years he gave the closest attention to its affairs, and, what was more, he travelled about devoting his learning and enthusiasm and power of popular exposition to the purposes which the Society existed to promote. His interest in Roman Britain, which had never flagged, became wider and at the same time more intense. When he was invited to deliver the Gregynog Lecture for 1948 in the University of Wales he chose as his subject ‘The Lost Province or the Worth of Britain’. These lectures were the last book of his published in his lifetime. Its main purpose is to refute the notion that Britain meant little to Rome as anything but a basis of power, and that Rome meant little to Britain. The book is persuasive, lucid, and realistic, but it seems to lack something of the old *élan*, if not of the old charm.

Charlesworth hoped to write on a large scale a history of the Roman Empire from Augustus to Constantine. That work was never written, but before his death he completed for the Home University Library a smaller book with the title *The Roman Empire*. It has not yet appeared as these words are written, but Norman Baynes, who has seen an advanced copy, writes of it:

This is not a narrative history: ‘this book’, as Charlesworth wrote, ‘aims at describing something of the life and work, of the thought and conditions, that existed during the first three centuries of that great experiment in government which men term the Roman Empire.’ The range of the book is wide, thus, e.g., Army and Navy; Work and Taxes; Education, Literature and Art; Trade and Travel; Religion, each has its chapter; general statements are made vivid and are impressed on the memory by concrete illustrations or by citations from a literary text, an inscription or a papyrus. In its balance and sanity of judgement, in its liveliness and its human interest the book is characteristic of its author: the years of thought which were given to its shaping have not been spent in vain.

He had already received the due recognition of his qualities. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Academy. The Universities of Bordeaux and of Wales had honoured him with their doctorates. It appeared that he was in the full tide of acknowledged eminence. But *dis aliter visum*.

The decade since the outbreak of war had been a time of

heavy unremitting strain, and Charlesworth had never spared himself. Early in 1949 his closest friends could detect that he needed a rest to make good the long drain on his vitality. It was arranged that he should be freed from all duties in the Lent Term of 1950 so that he might seek refreshment of body and of mind. He had proposed to use this time to visit West Africa, but at the end of the Michaelmas Term he was taken ill. His doctor diagnosed heart strain and prescribed rest and a rigorous diet. He changed his plans and went by sea to Cyprus, where he was welcomed and made free of its varied antiquities. It was not possible for him to be inert, or even to deny himself the satisfaction of his lively interest in antiquity or to forgo the pleasure of seeing the beauty of the island. When he returned he was only half-way to the full restoration of his health. But he had returned with his former enthusiasm claiming his activity. It seemed as if, even so, all would be well. But towards the end of the Long Vacation, while he was staying with friends at Leeds, he had a serious heart attack. He rallied under skilful treatment, and there were high hopes that, with time and quiet, his health might in the end be fully restored. His natural elasticity and optimism would assist this, and in his letters he spoke of his illness as no more than a temporary interruption of his active life. Then came a second attack, from which recovery was not possible. His courage and consideration for others did not fail him, and it is permissible to quote the words of one who saw him the day before his death and found him cheerful, as ever, interested not in himself but in the recent doings of his friends: 'I think that he knew that I knew that he really understood his plight quite well: it was characteristic that, in order to spare us all distress, he should have acted the part he did so triumphantly.' The end came rather suddenly on October 26.

To me, as to many, this meant the end of a long friendship. It is not possible for me to write of him and dissemble my *desiderium tam cari capitis*. During over twenty-five years community of interests with a partnership in an enterprise we both had much at heart and an easy personal relationship had deepened into an intimacy that seemed just a part of the order of things. How often would come the ring of the telephone, then 'Martin here', starting a lively discussion of some topics of the moment, and ending with an assignation at King's Front Lodge just before one o'clock. He would come swinging along down Trinity Street to carry me off to lunch together and then take a turn or sit in his Fellows' Garden or mine, while we talked

things out. He was very quick at making or taking a point, *tenax propositi* but if, for good reasons given, he changed his mind, he did so frankly and freely. He was always, as Mr. H. M. Last has said of him, 'serious but merry, charitable but with high standards'. In these talks I found in him a heartening sympathy, half veiled in quips and a kind of *lingua franca* of quotations from frivolous writers we both delighted in. I was not in his confidence on all sides of his life, but when he gave his confidence he gave it completely in return for equal confidence. And it is no doubt true that, in other matters, other close friends had that same trust in him and he in them. Herein he found happiness and made others happy.

Indeed, granted Charlesworth's distinction as a scholar and service to Ancient History in the comparatively short span of life allotted to him, it is his personality that will be most freshly remembered. He was intellectually sophisticated: a close study of his writings reveals a subtle evaluation of evidence only partly masked by an easy and fluent style in narrative and exposition. But what marked him out among men no less gifted in intellect was his gaiety and ease, the fusing together of his mind and spirit, his *vis vivida animi*. His deep integrity as a scholar and a Christian gentleman went with an almost boyish *insouciance* which was partly high spirits and partly the absence of pedantry, egotism and ambition. His gifts made success come easily, but it was not his aim. For he was not ambitious, though he highly appreciated the good opinion of his friends and enjoyed deserving it. Had he lived he could have achieved yet more, and contributed more to learning and the stock of goodness in the world. His untimely death is a loss to many men and causes and to the college for which he cared so deeply, but he had achieved much, and his memory mitigates the loss.

I am indebted to the recollections of many of Charlesworth's friends, especially Mr. E. A. Benians and Mr. J. S. Boys Smith; and to *The Eagle* for leave to quote from the memoir contributed to it by Mr. Benians.

F. E. ADCOCK

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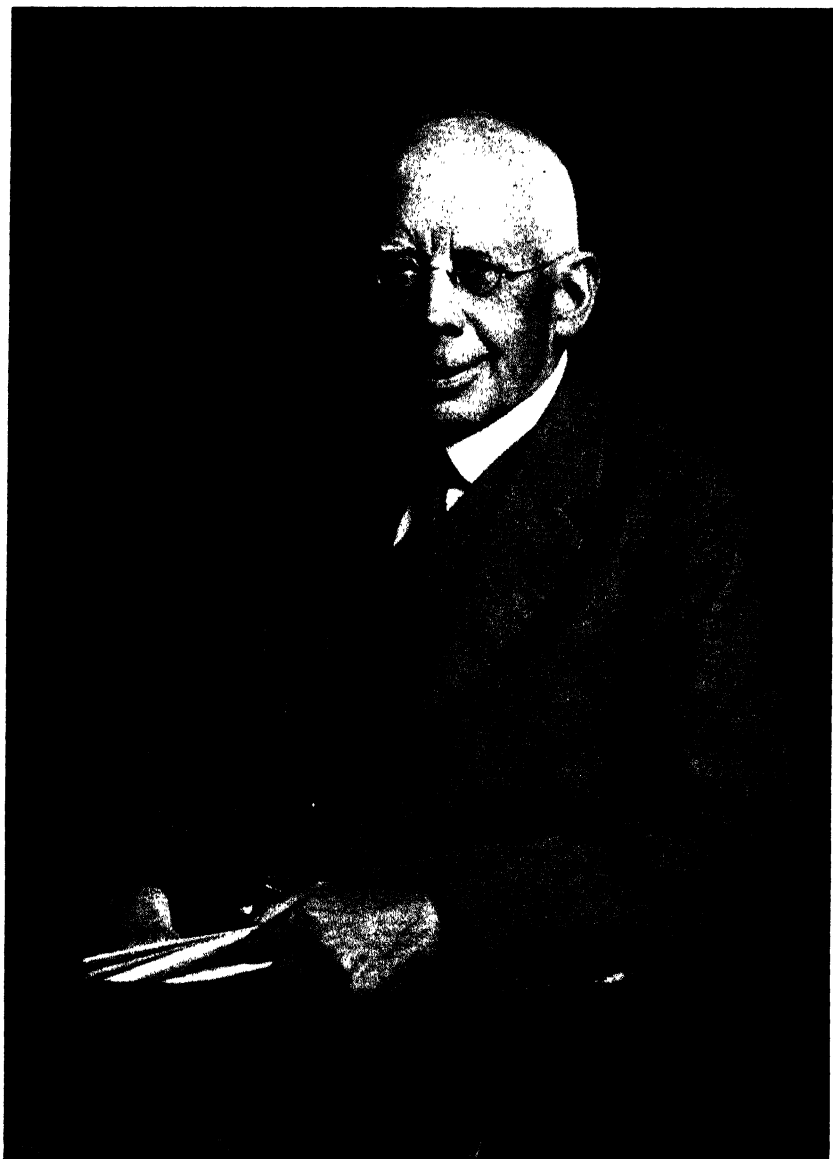
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PLATE 6



*Photograph by J. Russell & Sons, London*

CAMPBELL DODGSON

## CAMPBELL DODGSON

1867-1948

CAMPBELL DODGSON was born at Crayford, Kent, on 13 August 1867. He was the youngest of the eight children of William Oliver Dodgson, stockbroker, and of Lucy Elizabeth Smith. His father was descended from Jeremiah Butler of Basil-don in the parish of Otley, Yorkshire, through the latter's granddaughter, Mary, who married Thomas Dodgson of Otley. Jeremiah Butler, whose family was connected with that of the Butlers, Dukes of Ormonde, was born at Kilkenny in Ireland, came to England during the Revolution of 1688 and married Lydia Slater of Carlton near Otley. There was certainly some connexion between this family and that of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson (Lewis Carroll) though the exact link is not recorded.

The course of Campbell Dodgson's life was uneventful and can be briefly recorded. He went to Winchester as a scholar in 1880, proceeding thence to New College, Oxford, also with a scholarship in classics. He took a first in classics in 1890 and a second in theology in the following year. He was an excellent classical scholar and kept up his reading of Greek and Latin. He is mentioned at Winchester as one of a clever trio, who headed the 1880 roll for scholarship, the other two being Horace Joseph and the poet Lionel Johnson. He had at this time a quiet, rather sleepy manner and was known as 'the Dormouse' no doubt in reference to *Alice in Wonderland*, but he seems to have made no deep impression on his contemporaries at Winchester and Oxford. He was a man of simple habits. Though not athletic he was a great walker and an enthusiastic swimmer and continued to bathe in the Serpentine until late in life. He had a keen appreciation of music and was a devotee of Mozart and his operas. He was a shy and reticent, almost a taciturn man and was never communicative about himself or his early life.

He had at one time intended to enter the church but abandoned this idea and was appointed an Assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, taking up his duties there on 6 April 1893. Here he remained until 1932, being appointed Keeper in succession to Sir Sidney Colvin, on the latter's retirement in 1912, though Laurence Binyon his exact contemporary in the Museum, whom he had defeated in the limited competition for entry to the Department and who

had then served for two years in Printed Books, had been promoted Deputy Keeper (then called Assistant Keeper) before. (It is said that Dodgson had at one time been offered the Directorship of the Kupferstichkabinett at Berlin about this time but I can find no written confirmation of this story.) From his first appointment until his retirement in 1932 and beyond, the Department engrossed the greater part of his energy and his complete loyalty.

The outbreak of the 1914-18 war with Germany must have been a particularly severe blow to one who was connected by close ties to the scholars of that country, but he bore the break with characteristic stoicism. I remember one of his reactions to the situation, which exemplified, I thought, his selfless devotion to scholarship and to the Museum: 'What an opportunity', he said, 'to clear up the arrears in the Department.' (The contents of the Print Room had just been moved from their old quarters in the White wing of the Museum to their present position in the King Edward VII building.) But he soon realized the impossibility of making so humane a use of the 'emergency'. In July 1916 he applied to the Trustees for permission to undertake work for the War Office which would involve a month's complete, and subsequently partial, absence. In spite of this call on his time he was able to carry on the not inconsiderable work of the Department almost single-handed and to keep the register of new acquisitions, which continued to be numerous.

He had in 1913 married Frances Catharine, daughter of the Rev. W. A. Spooner, D.D., Warden of New College, Oxford, but there were no children of the marriage. He died in London on 11 July 1948.

He had been employed on his first entry into the Museum on a subject index of Italian and Netherlandish prints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a work which gave scope to his considerable learning in ecclesiastical history and legend. He had also from the first kept the register of new acquisitions and there can be no question that the taste for German art, which he developed, was aroused by having to deal, in the course of these duties, with the important gift of German woodcuts and illustrated books made to the Department by William Mitchell in 1895. In the same year a complete catalogue *raisonné* of the series of early Netherlandish and German woodcuts in the Department was planned and entrusted to Campbell Dodgson. Knowledge of the subject in England, as represented by W. H. Wilshire's *Catalogue of Early Prints in the British Museum*, 2 vols., 1879

and 1883, was amateurish, and Dodgson, with a conscientious thoroughness which was to mark all his work, set himself to master its intricacies. He spent most of his vacations in Germany in study and soon became known and recognized in that country as an authority. The first volume of his *Catalogue of Early German and Netherlandish Woodcuts in the British Museum* appeared in 1903 and the second in 1911. This, as was at once realized in Germany and elsewhere, was more than a mere catalogue; it was practically a history of woodcut in Germany and the Netherlands during the period, though unfortunately the sections dealing with Switzerland, the Upper and Middle Rhine, and Cologne were never completed. A partial index to the work, published in Germany in 1925 without the knowledge of the author or of the Trustees of the British Museum, was a curious testimony to the prestige it enjoyed.

Dodgson had already been responsible for an official publication of the *Grotesque Alphabet of 1464* (1899) and, outside his actual departmental duties, was one of the founders of the Dürer Society which issued annual portfolios of reproductions from 1898 to 1908, most of the notes and descriptions for which were contributed by him. He was also one of the moving spirits in the launching of the *Burlington Magazine*, served on its advisory council from its inception in 1903, and became a director in 1906. He contributed no less than 105 articles and notes to the magazine, his first publication in the first volume being an article, in the form of a review of Dr. Pauli's catalogue of the engraved work of Hans Sebald Beham.

While pursuing these detailed and meticulous studies into the history of German graphic art, Dodgson did not by any means neglect the contemporary scene. He played an important part as a patron of young artists and a collector more particularly of the school of etching in England which emerged from the revival of the art inaugurated by Whistler and Seymour Haden and which reached the climax of its popularity in the 20's of this century. He was a lifelong friend of D. Y. Cameron and of Sir Muirhead Bone, the latter of whom speaks feelingly of the encouraging hand held out to him by Dodgson on his first arrival in London in 1901. He bought Henry Rushbury's first etching. This interest in his contemporaries was, I suspect, in its origin a self-imposed discipline, which, however, with time and cultivation became almost spontaneous. He felt that someone in his position should appreciate the art not only of the past but of his own day. Sir Sidney Colvin once reported of him that he was a



man of great ability who would succeed in any profession but that he possessed only a fair amount of natural aptitude for artistic studies in particular. This judgement passed on him in the early days of his association with the Print Room proved to be wide of the mark. If he had, as Colvin seemed to suggest, no natural aesthetic sensibility, he acquired something which served him, contemporary artists and the British Museum almost equally well.

Dodgson's keepership was marked by a series of important acquisitions, to some of which he contributed out of his own pocket (he was a man of considerable private means), as in the case of Albrecht Dürer's drawing 'Una Villana Windisch', acquired in 1930, for the purchase of which he subscribed £2,000. His benefactions to the Print Room, though rarely on this scale, were continuous and continued even after his death, for he bequeathed his own collections to the Department. He had, from an early stage in his career, set out to collect examples of contemporary graphic art both English and foreign with the intention of leaving this collection to the Print Room, and its composition was largely dictated by the gaps in the national collection. The bequest, which became effective in 1949, consisted of over 5,000 prints and drawings. In addition to the series of modern English etchers, like Muirhead Bone and Augustus John, a very fine representation of contemporary and later nineteenth-century French graphic art was included, as well as a few Old Master Drawings of importance. An exhibition of the principal acquisitions made for the Department during his keepership was held in the Print Room after his retirement in 1932, and a catalogue of this exhibition was printed. A small selection from the prints and drawings bequeathed by him was also shown in the Department in 1951-2.

After his appointment as Keeper, Dodgson found less time for research along his own special lines. He was, however, able to edit a series of reproductions: *Woodcuts of the XV Century in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1915, and *Woodcuts of the XV Century in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, 1929. *Woodcuts of the XV Century in the . . . British Museum*, 2 vols., 1934 and 1935, and *Prints in the Dotted Manner in the . . . British Museum*, 1937, which formed part of the same cherished scheme for making known the primitive woodcuts in English collections, did not appear till after his retirement. He was also responsible for a succinct but authoritative chronological catalogue of Dürer's engravings, published in 1926, and his studies in German graphic art continued intermittently until almost the end of his

life. In a different field his book on *French Colour Prints* (1924), a subject which might have lent itself to superficial treatment, shows his accustomed careful scholarship and grasp. Meanwhile his interest in his contemporaries found practical expression in the production of detailed catalogues of their engraved work, not infrequently in the form of a supplement appended to the 'appreciation' of some more fluent critic. The earliest of such catalogues to appear was that of *Muirhead Bone's Etchings and Drypoints*, published in 1909. It was followed by catalogues of the graphic work of Charles Conder, 1914; of Augustus John, 1920; of Edmund Blampied, 1926; of Robert Austin, 1930; of F. L. Griggs, 1941; and finally in 1944, of Stephen Gooden. He was also responsible in 1919 for the foundation of the Prints and Drawings Fund of the Contemporary Art Society, which he administered until 1934. It was largely the same interest which led him to take over the editorship of the *Print Collector's Quarterly*, which he conducted from 1921 to 1936, and which under his direction became the medium for contributions of a high standard, but, though the subjects treated were largely contemporary, he was also able to include articles on early engraving by eminent continental scholars, like Max Lehrs and Max Geisberg.

Dodgson's work in the earlier part of his career had been partly bibliographical in character. Though he might publish an occasional article on some other subject than German graphic art, I doubt whether he would have laid claim to being an art-critic. He might well have called himself a 'Kunstforscher', for the term art-historian had hardly found acceptance in the English language until late in his life. By about 1925, however, he began to realize that the study of art could not, or should not, be so strictly divided into technical categories and began to extend his studies to drawings, primarily of German and then of other schools. He was one of the founders of the periodical *Old Master Drawings*, edited by K. T. Parker from 1927 to 1939, and contributed to it a number of short notes.

It is by no means easy to convey the importance of Dodgson's achievement. It was largely bound up in his character. He was a man of great integrity, so that his judgements were invariably honest. He was genuinely modest and was always willing to admit his own mistakes and to learn, not only from his elders and contemporaries, but also from younger men. He was entirely free from professional jealousy and never became involved in any of those squabbles which are not unknown among historians of art. He recognized from the first that the study of art

was not merely a question of appreciation and *flair*, but must be treated as far as possible as an exact science. No fact was too insignificant for his attention if he thought it might conduce to the solution of a problem and his catalogue of German woodcuts is a model of conscientious and meticulous research. It was obvious that in the classification of this, a complete knowledge of what was preserved in foreign collections, was essential. He was endowed with the patient tenacity, and possessed the means necessary to the realization of this comprehensive mastery of his material. However much absorbed, his detachment from the scene of his studies gave him a more dispassionate outlook than some of his German colleagues possessed and added weight to his judgement. These qualities did not include any great aptitude for generalization, as Dodgson would have himself admitted. He was essentially a recorder of concrete facts which he was able to marshal with clarity and precision. His style, at once simple and elegant, reflected his classical training. He was by no means eloquent in conveying by word of mouth his appreciation of the things he loved, but his obvious, if unexpressed enthusiasm for works of art had a way of reaching his audience. To the young artist especially his interest and his practical and generous encouragement were of substantial value and he seemed at ease in their society, as they were in his. The shyness, which at times made it difficult for him to express himself in his own language, largely disappeared when he found himself behind the shelter, so to speak, of a foreign tongue. He had a complete command of the German and French languages, both spoken and written, and his friends abroad seemed to have no inkling of the inhibitions which hampered his conversation in his own language. He was all his life a great traveller and was on terms of friendship not only with scholars of his own standing, but with students of a younger generation, who could always count on his sympathetic help. Nor were his friends abroad confined to the museum hierarchy; he was equally at home among the art-dealers of Amsterdam, Munich, and Paris, who respected him not only for his scholarship, but for the impartiality of his judgement. Though he prided himself on recognizing and understanding new forms of art, he never stood for any particular clique or fad. He was appreciated as a discriminating patron by contemporary artists in France, by Jean-Louis Forain, of whose graphic work he formed an all but complete collection, by Laboureur, by Raoul Dufy, by Marie Laurencin and by many others.

If I have described him as taciturn, I do not wish to convey

any idea that he was morose. This was very far from being the case, for he was the kindest and best-tempered of men, and when he set out to enjoy himself, as he did when entertaining congenial company at his fine house in Montagu Square, there radiated from behind his glasses a continuous and almost Pickwickian geniality. This charming boyish pleasure bubbled up from behind his reserve when he came to show one some discovery in his favourite field, or something he had acquired for the Print Room at less than its market value for, though the most generous of men, he delighted in securing a bargain for his Department.

Dodgson's services were recognized at home and abroad by the bestowal on him of honorary degrees both at Oxford and Cambridge; by his election to the British Academy (1939); by his appointment as Officer of the Légion d'Honneur (France) and Commander of the Order of the Crown (Belgium), and by the award made to him of the Goethe medal, of which honour he was one of the very few recipients outside Germany. The only official honour conferred on him in England was the C.B.E., given him for work in the intelligence department of the War Office in 1918. His services to scholarship and his public-spirited generosity remained without official recognition.

A. E. POPHAM

Authorities: *The Times*, 14 and 22 July 1932; *Burlington Magazine*, xc (1948), p. 293; information from friends, particularly from Mr. J. Byam Shaw; personal knowledge.

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